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ABSTRACT

The fourth volume in this series contains nine articles dealing with various aspects of Serbo-Croatian-English contrastive analysis. They are: "Adverbial Clauses of Cause, Place and Manner in English and Serbo-Croatian," by Gordana Gavrilovic; "Intransitive Verbs+Adverbials or Complements Containing Non-Finite Verb Forms," by Omer Hadziselimovic; "Number Agreement in English and Correspondent Structures in Serbo-Croatian," by Vladimir Ivir; "The Expression of Future Time in English and Serbo-Croatian," by Damir Kalogjera; "Additional Notes on Noun Phrases in the Function of Subject in English and Serbo-Croatian," by Ljiljana Mihailovic; "Elliptical Sentences in English and Their Serbo-Croatian Equivalents," by Mladen Mihajlovic; "The English Preterit Tense and Its Serbo-Croatian Equivalents" and "The English Past Perfect Tense and Its Serbo-Croatian Equivalents," both by Leonardo Spalatin; and "Adverbial Modifiers in Intransitive Sentences in English and Serbo-Croatian," by Ljubica Vojnovic. (CLK)

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THE YUGOSLAV SERBO-CROATIAN-ENGLISH
CONTRASTIVE PROJECT
Director: Professor Rudolf Filipović, Ph. D.

A. REPORTS

4

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ZAGREB, 1971.
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CENTER FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS
Washington, D. C., USA

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ADVERBIAL CLAUSES OF CAUSE, PLACE AND MANNER IN ENGLISH AND SERBO-CROATIAN

A. CAUSE

Adverbial clauses of cause are usually introduced by the conjunctions: because, as, since, for (slightly old-fashioned), considering that, seeing that, now (that), the obsolete lest, etc.

1. The causal clause introduced by because can be expressed in SC in several ways: either with jer + clause, zato što - , što - , or zbog toga što + clause.

(1) He can't come because he is ill.
(1SC) On ne može doći jer je bolestan.

(2) She would not listen to him because she was in a bad mood.
(2SC) Nije ga htjela slušati zato što je bila loše raspoložena.

(3) He is angry because I woke him up.
(3SC) On se ljuti zbog toga što sam ga probudio.

(4) One of the reasons I left was because I was bored.
(4SC) Jedan od razloga što sam otišao, bio je što sam se dosadjivao.

Because is also used in constructions used for emphasis such as those which begin with it is, it was etc. In SC this prominence is achieved by the use of emphatic words like upravo or baš.

(1) It is just because he is so lazy that he cannot pass the exam.
(1SC) Upravo zbog toga što je tako lijen, ne može položiti ispit.

2.

E	SC
since	pošto, kako, budući da

(1) Since he is a liar, nobody believes him.

(1SC) Budući da je lažljivac, niko mu ne vjeruje.

(2) She shouldn't have acted like that, since I've always been good to her.

(2SC) Nije trebala tako nešto da učini, pošto sam uvijek bila dobra prema njoj.

3. As is not very frequent in the spoken language, and even in the written language it is not always unambiguous.

E	SC
as	budući da, pošto, kako, jer

(1) As it has rained, it is wet all around.

(1SC) Kako je padala kiša, sve je unaokolo mokro.

4.

E	SC
seeing that	budući da, jer

(1) Seeing that he did not feel well, he decided to stay at home.

(1SC) Budući da se nije dobro osjećao, odlučio je da ostane kod kuće.

5. For is falling into disuse and is more formal than the corresponding SC conjunction. The same is true of the E conjunction lest and its SC counterpart.

E	SC
for	jer

(1) He could not see it, for he was not there.

(1SC) On to nije mogao vidjeti, jer nije bio tamo.

E	SC
lest	da ne (bi), kako ne (bi)

(1) He dared not stir lest he should be seen.

(1SC) Nije se usudio maknuti da ga ne bi vidjeli.

6. It would be worth while to discuss at this point the following possible mistake of SC learners of E:

(1) Nije mogao dalje, jer je bio umoran.

(1E)* He could not go any further, because was tired.

(2) Nije mogao da zaspi, jer su njegovi susjedi bučno pjevali.

(2E)* He could not fall asleep, because were his neighbours singing noisily.

Namely, in the SC subordinate clause the subject is usually drooped if it is the same as in the main clause. This often gives rise to a mistake like the one in (1E). If the subject is different, it is still preceded by any enclitic that may occur in the clause, which tends to cause learners of E to produce non-sentences like the one in (2E).

7. The conjunction that is used to introduce adverbial clauses of cause after adjectives (and past participles) that express emotion.

(1) I'm sorry (that) he is leaving.

(1SC) Žao mi je što on odlazi.

(2) I'm glad (that) she is going abroad.

(2SC) Drago mi je što ona ide u inostranstvo.

(3) We are surprised (that) you failed the exam.

(3SC) Iznenadjeni smo da si pao na ispitu.

An important contrastive point here is that SC learners of E might associate što with what rather than that and thus render sentence (1SC) as: *I'm sorry what he is leaving.

Another interesting point here is that the E causal conjunction that may be dropped (as it actually is in colloquial speech), whereas the SC conjunction što or sometimes da cannot be dropped. But this is not so relevant for a SC learner of E as it is for an E learner of SC. The learner of E should only be warned of the possibility of leaving out the E conjunction.

8. An E adverbial clause of cause may be abridged to:

a) a participial construction

b) an adjective or adjectival group, or an adjective modified by a clause.

c) a noun modified by a clause

d) a prepositional phrase (preposition + gerund)

Most of these constructions are mainly used in written E and very rarely in spoken. Such style is considered rather formal. The same is true of the corresponding SC constructions.

a) A participial construction may have front, middle, or end position, both in E and SC.

(1) Feeling that they were against it, I did not even try to persuade them.

(1SC) Osjećajući da su protiv toga, čak nisam ni pokušao da ih ubijedim.

(2) Peter, not knowing what to do, went to his friend's.

(2SC) Petar je, ne znajući šta da radi, otišao kod svog prijatelja.

(3) I gave up the discussion, realizing I was wrong.

(3SC) Odustao sam od diskusije videći da nisam u pravu.

The verb forms in these examples display interesting contrastive differences. Namely, the E finite verb of the abridged subordinate clause (if there is any - ex. (1, 3)) is parallel to that of the main clause. In E the reference point for the choice of tense in the subordinate clause is the moment of utterance, which means that the rules of "Sequence of tenses" apply to the subordinate clause, whereas in SC the reference point is the time referred to by the

predicate verb of the main clause. The learner should be drilled in the rule of sequence of tenses through a series of exercises even at the beginning of his study, as this seems the main problem with the complex sentence. The rule of sequence of tenses being another topic of the Project, we will not discuss it any longer in this paper.

Another kind of participial clause, which is not widely used but can still be found and is mostly used in written E, is a clause with what is known as an absolute participial construction. This may be used if the subject of the adverbial clause of cause and the subject of the main clause are different. The E absolute construction is expressed in SC by the conjunctions budući da, pošto, kako or s obzirom (na to) da + clause which is certainly less formal than the E version.

(1) My father being very ill, I decided to stay at home.
(1SC) Budući da mi je otac vrlo bolestan, odlučio sam da ostanem kod kuće.

(2) The play having attracted a great deal of attention, I went to see it.
(2SC) Pošto je komad privukao veliku pažnju, otišao sam ga pogledati.

b) When the participle is being it may be left out. This is characteristic of the written language too. It sounds rather formal in colloquial speech and is therefore seldom used. Here, the adverbial clause is abridged to an adjectival group or an adjective modified by a clause (3).

(1) Sick and tired of everything, I went home.
(1SC) Sit svega, otišao sam kući.

(2) Interested in the story, I wanted to hear more.
(2SC) Zainteresiran za priču, želio sam još da čujem.

(3) Stupid as he was, he could not understand it.

(3SC) Onako glup kakav je bio, nije to mogao razumjeti.

c) An adverbial clause of cause may also be expressed by a noun modified by a clause.

(1) Shy girl that she was, she could not help blushing.

(1SC) Onako sramežljiva djevojka kakva je ona bila, nije mogla a da ne pocrveni.

d) Some adverbial clauses of cause may be abridged to a prepositional phrase. The phrase consists of a preposition+gerund.

(1) The boy was beaten for being naughty.

(1SC) Dječaka su istukli zbog toga što je bio zločest.

(2) She does not think very much of him for treating her that way.

(2SC) Ona nema dobro mišljenje o njemu zbog toga što tako postupa s njom.

(3) He was fined for crossing the street.

(3SC) Kažnjen je zbog prelaženja ulice.

(4) She was rewarded for running fast.

(4SC) Nagradjena je zbog brzog trčanja.

Such a gerundial construction is rather unusual in SC. Mostly it is expressed by the causal conjunction zbog toga što or zato što + clause (ex. 1SC, 2SC). Thus SC learners of E tend to transfer this feature of SC into E and use the causal clause instead of the gerundial construction, which is certainly possible and correct. But since the gerundial construction in the function of a causal adverbial is frequently used in E, learners should be aware of it and use it more often. The most efficient way to bring home to the learners the gerundial construction is to make them aware that such a construction is

parallel to an adverbial clause in its function. Not only the gerundial construction, but also some others can replace the adverbial clause of cause - such as some already mentioned phrases or the infinitival construction (which we will not concern ourselves with in this paper as it is another topic in this Project).

Learners should be given some adverbial clauses of cause and asked to replace them with any possible construction (in this particular case, the gerundial construction). In some cases it is possible to use the gerundial phrase in the function of a causal adverbial in SC too (ex. 3SC, 4SC).

Even here, many speakers of SC would prefer the što-clause to the gerundial phrase, especially when the sentence consists of many elements. The form of such an adverbial often depends on the verb of the dependent clause. But if it still is expressed by the gerundial phrase in SC, there will be no problems for a SC speaker of E, as the pattern of the adverbial is similar in both languages.

B. PLACE

Adverbial clauses of place are usually introduced by the conjunctions: where, wherever, anywhere, nowhere, and everywhere. The obsolete conjunctions whither, thither and whence are only found in old-fashioned written language.

E conjunctions:	SC conjunctions or correlative groups:
1. where	(tamo) gdje, (tamo) kuda
2. anywhere or wherever	gdje god or bilo gdje, kuda god or bilo kuda
3. nowhere	nigdje gdje, nigdje kuda
4. everywhere	svuda gdje, svuda kuda

(1) Stay where you are!

(1SC) Ostani (tamo) gdje si!

(2) I'm not going where I went last year for the holidays.

(2SC) Neću ići na odmor (tamo) kuda sam prošle godine išao.

(3) Wherever he is, he makes trouble.

(3SC) Gdje god se nalazio, on pravi neprilike.

(4) She follows him anywhere he goes.

(4SC) Ona ga slijedi bilo kuda on ide.

(5) I'll go nowhere (that) she can't go.

(5SC) Neću ići nigdje kuda ona ne može.

(6) He searched everywhere he could.

(6SC) Tražio je svuda gdje je mogao.

As is seen from the above examples, the only problem for the SC learner of E may be the difference between the E conjunctions and SC conjunctions or correlative groups that usually consist of two elements, tamo + gdje or kuda or svuda gdje, etc. SC speakers of E tend to express this construction in E. This results in incorrect E such as:

* Stay there where you are!

* I will not go for the holidays there where I went last year.

To avoid such E usage the learner should be taught the form of an adverbial clause of place with special emphasis on its conjunction.

C. MANNER

E conjunctions:	SC conjunctions or correlative groups:
1. as	a) (onako) kako
	b) kao što
2. in that	u tome što

(1) A man has a right to spend his money as he pleases.

(1aSC) Čovjek ima pravo da troši novac (onako) kako on to želi.

The first part of the correlative group in SC is nonobligatory but the sentence is somehow more clear when both elements are used. The existence of the correlative group in SC frequently leads to the use of similar constructions by SC learners of E.

* A man has a right to spend his money so as he pleases

(2) He finished his work in time as he had promised.

(2aSC) Završio je posao na vrijeme, kao što je i obećao.

The difference between the conjunctions might produce mistakes in the expression of the conjunctional part of the manner clause, giving *such as, *so as or *as what instead of simple as.

2. E SC

in that u tome što

(1) He differs from his friends in that he spends his spare time in reading.

(1SC) On se razlikuje od svojih prijatelja u tome što provodi slobodno vrijeme u čitanju.

A possible mistake in the rendering of the conjunction might be: * He differs from his friends in (that) what he spends his spare time in reading.

Abridged clauses of manner:

(1) She came into the house singing.

(1SC) Ušla je u kuću pjevajući.

(2) You shouldn't go dressed in that shabby suit

(2SC) Ne bi trebao ići obučen u ovom otrcanom odijelu.

(3) He spends his spare time in reading.

(3SC) On provodi svoje slobodno vrijeme u čitanju.

When an E adverbial clause of manner is abridged to a participle (ex. 1, 2) or a preposition + gerund construction (3), there should be no difficulty for a SC learner of E as the same pattern exists in SC. The only difference is the lexical one.

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INTRANSITIVE VERBS + ADVERBIALS OR COMPLEMENTS CONTAINING NON-FINITE VERB-FORMS

I. Introduction

The subject of this paper is a discussion of E intransitive verbs followed by non-finite verb-forms (the infinitive, the ing-form) and their relationship with the corresponding SC structures. The discussion will also comprise such E constructions as the prepositional object immediately following an intransitive verb and obligatorily containing a non-finite verb-form (the ing-form).[1] The constructions to be considered here are exemplified in the following sentences:

(1) He came to see me.
Došao je da me vidi (posjeti).

(2) The children went swimming.
Djeca su otišla da se kupaju (na kupanje).

(3) He spoke of his being tired.
Govorio je da je umoran (o tome kako je umoran).

II. Intransitive Verb + Infinitive

1. An E intransitive verb followed by a to-infinitive (functioning most frequently as an adverbial modifier) corresponds in SC in most cases to a structure composed of an intransitive verb followed by an adverbial clause (da-clause).

The following examples will confirm this statement:

(1) She remained to take charge of her niece's education.
Ostala je da preuzme brigu o obrazovanju svoje nećake.

(2) All the men have gone to hunt.
Svi muškarci su otišli da love.

(3) He lived to see all those atrocities of the war.
Doživio je da vidi sve one grozote rata.

The infinitive phrase in sentence (1) is clearly one of purpose, in sentence (2) it expresses both purpose and direction, whereas in sentence (3) the verb+infinitive structure is used idiomatically. In sentence (1), where the idea of purpose is the most evident, "to" can be replaced with the more clear and stylistically more formal "in order to".

There is another use of the infinitive akin to that in sentence (3), the infinitive phrase signifying result:

(4) He awoke to find his wife gone.
(5) She came all this way only to find the house empty.

It seems that the use of "only" in sentence (5) and similar examples is fairly wide-spread and almost obligatory.

2. Although a structure parallel to the E one is sometimes possible in SC — that is, the use of the infinitival phrase instead of the (more normal) clause — such instances seem to be less common and stylistically less desirable, especially in longer utterances.[2] Thus, while:

(1) Došao me je vidjeti (He came to see me)
or: (2) Otišli su igrati šah (They have gone to play chess)[3]

are quite acceptable sentences, longer (expanded) constructions of this sort seem to be less so:

(3) Otišli su saznati da li će on doći na večeru ili ne.
They have gone to find out whether he will come to dinner or not.

However, some other E intransitives followed by infinitives cannot be translated into SC in any other way but as intransitive + clause, e.g.

(4) He worked to make his living.
Radio je da zaradi za život (da bi zaradio za život).

(5) He sat down to watch the film.
Sjeo je da gleda film.

(6) She rose to go.
Podigla se da ide.

3. A number of intransitive verb + infinitive combinations in E are rendered into SC by a single, perfective verb, often denoting the beginning of a state or action:

go to sleep - zaspati
come to pass - desiti se
come to realize - shvatiti
get to know - doznati, saznati, upoznati
get to hear - dočuti, čuti
live to be - doživjeti
etc.

(1) At last he came to realize the true meaning of her words.
Najzad je shvatio istinsko značenje njenih riječi.

(2) You will get to like him soon.
Uskoro ćeš ga zavoljeti. (Uskoro će ti se svidjeti).

(3) His grandfather lived to be a hundred.
Njegov djed je doživio sto godina.

Sometimes, when a continuous tense is used in E, SC can have an imperfective verb as an equivalent:

(4) He is coming to know it.
On to postepeno shvaća.

(5) What he prophesied ten years ago is now coming to pass.
Ono što je on predskazao prije deset godina sada se ostvaruje.

(6) She is only now getting to know him as he really is.
Tek sada ga upoznaje onakvog kakav on zaista jeste.

In certain cases, "come" + infinitive matches two verbs in SC:

(7) Silence has come to play its part in their relationship.
Šutnja je počela da igra ulogu u njihovom odnosu.

(8) The word came to mean something quite different.
Ta riječ je počela da označava nešto sasvim drugo.

4. Verbs like "happen" and "chance" + infinitive match "slučajno" + finite verb form in SC:

(1) He happened to be staying at his friend's at the time.
Slučajno se zadesio kod svog prijatelja u to vrijeme.

(2) If you chance to meet him tell him to call on me.
Ako ga slučajno sretneš, reci mu da me posjeti.

5. E structures with the verbs "appear" or "seem" + infinitive differ from their SC counterparts (intransitive verb + clause) in the fact that "seem" and "appear" are conjugated, whereas "izgledati" is used only in its impersonal forms "izgleda" (da), "izgledalo je" (da).

(1) The guest seemed to offer his observations with perfect ease.
Izgledalo je da gost pravi primjedbe sa savršenom lakoćom.

(2) They appear to know all about the newcomer.
Izgleda da oni znaju sve o došljaku.

The contrastive difference worth noting here is that in SC there are two sentences (two finite verbs), whereas E has finite verb + infinitive. SC speakers "confronted" with the verbs "seem" and "appear" most frequently use only one structure, that is they tend to say:

(3) It seems that he offers ...
(4) It appears that they know...

instead of the more common: "He seems to offer..." etc.

The difficulty increases when the verbs "seem" and "appear" are used in the negative form by SC speakers ("He did not seem to know it"). A simple table can be set up to show the use of "seem" and "izgledati":

E	SC
a) He seems to know...	Izgleda da (on) zna ...
b) He does not seem to know...	Izgleda da (on) ne zna ...
c) He seems to have known...	Izgleda da je znao ...
d) He seemed to know ...	Izgledalo je da zna ...
e) He seemed to have known...	Izgledalo je da je znao ...

It should be pointed out that in d) "seemed" corresponds to "izgledalo je", and the infinitive "to know" to the finite verb form "zna". In the next example, e), the perfect infinitive "to have known" is rendered into SC as the perfekt "je znao".

Perhaps the most important thing to be brought out for the SC speaker in this connection is the frequent use of the verbs "seem" and "appear" in the negative form (for negative statements), i.e. "He does not seem to go..." This demands some practice because SC learners are likely (at lower levels) to confine themselves to using these two verbs only in the affirmative form and introducing the negation later, i.e. "He seems not to go ..."

III. Intransitive Verb + -ing-form

6. The E combination of certain intransitive verbs (come, get, go, keep, etc) and -ing-form is translated into SC as: 1) adverbial clause, 2) preposition + verbal noun ("glagolska imenica"), and 3) preposition + noun:

(1) We went mushrooming yesterday.
Juče smo išli da beremo gljive.

(2) They went bathing in the river.
Otišli su na kupanje u rijeci.

(3) We will go hunting next morning.
Ići ćemo u lov sljedećeg jutra.

7. In E, "go/come" + -ing-form ordinarily denotes some physical activity, amusement or occupation. The verb "come" in this connection is frequently used in, but is not confined to, the imperative mood:

(1) Come sailing with us on the lake today.
Podji s nama danas na jedrenje na jezeru.

(2) He came apple-picking with the children.
Došao je u branje jabuka s djecom.

8. In come cases the verb "go" can be followed by an infinitive instead of an -ing-form without influencing the meaning of the construction. It is sometimes claimed that the -ing-form signifies a more general action whereas the infinitive denotes a more specific activity:

(1) He went hunting.
(2) He went to hunt.

It appears that sentence (2) puts more emphasis on the purpose of the action than does sentence (1), but this is not necessarily always the case.[4]
Sentence (1) can be translated either as: "Lovio je" or: "Išao je u lov" (e.g. "svaki dan").

9. The verb "keep (on)" + -ing-form is often used to express the continuation of an action. In SC some other devices are used to convey the same idea:

(1) He keeps coming although he is not wanted there.
On i dalje dolazi mada tamo nije poželjan.

(2) The man kept on turning back.
Čovjek se stalno osvrtao.

According to some authors[5], the use of "keep on" in this manner is confined to activities – it is not used of a state. Thus, while: "keep on standing up" is correct, "keep on standing" is is not.

10. A group of E verbs is joined to the ing-form to express the inchoative aspect of an action:

(1) They soon got talking.
Uskoro se upustiše u razgovor (počeše razgovarati)

(2) The boy broke out crying.
Dječak briznu u plač.

(3) The children burst out laughing.
Djeca prasnuše u smijeh.

(4) He set about doing the work.
Dao se na posao.

As we have seen from these examples, SC translations are descriptive or idiomatic.

11. Some other verbs, like "continue", "start", "begin", "(cannot) help", "stop", "cease", "finish", are also used in this pattern:

(1) The soldier continued fighting.
Vojnik je nastavio da se bori (s borbom).

(2) He could not help feeling sad.
Nije mogao a da se ne osjeća tužnim.

(3) She ceased writing when she was 60.
Prestala je da piše kad joj je bilo 60 godina.

Again, as in 8., the ing-form and the infinitive are interchangeable, i.e. we can say both "cease writing" and "cease to write" without much affecting the meaning of the structure. However, this does not hold for the expression "cannot help" which is not used with the infinitive, nor for the verb "stop" in which we encounter a difference of meaning, depending on whether it is used with the ing-form or with the infinitive:

(4) He stopped to talk.
Zastao je da porazgovara.

(5) He stopped talking.
Prestao je da razgovara.

IV. Intransitive Verb + Preposition + ing-form

12. In this section we shall deal with structures which consist of an intransitive verb followed by a complement composed of a preposition and an ing-form.

13. Certain intransitive verbs require a particular kind of complement structure more than some other intransitive verbs do. Thus, one might assert that in the sentences:

(1) We relied on his carrying out the task,
(2) He spoke of her being thoroughly exhausted,
and (3) Three days elapsed without her speaking to me,

there exist differing degrees of "closeness" between the verb and the complement, the verb "rely" having the closest link with its complement. Thus, while:

(4) *He relied,

is incorrect (in fact, "rely on" has to be learned as a single unit),

(5) Ten days elapsed

is an acceptable E sentence just as it stands.

The structures following the verbs in the first two sentences are prepositional objects, whereas the construction after the verb in the third sentence functions as an adverbial modifying the verb "elapsed".

14. In the majority of cases SC equivalent of E intransitive verb + prep + ing-form structures have a clause where E has prep + ing-form. In certain cases the use of the verbal noun is possible in SC:

(1) I succeeded in finishing my painful work.
Uspio sam da završim svoj mučni posao.

(2) They relied on my being there.
Oslonili su se na to da ću ja biti tamo.

(3) When it came to recommending Smith for the post, there were many protests.
Kad se radilo o preporučivanju Smita za taj položaj, bilo je mnogo protesta.

We notice that in sentence (2) the E possessive marker ("my") has become the subject of the SC sentence ("ja"). Further examples of this can be cited:

(4) The French do not approve of Britain's joining the Common Market.
Francuzi ne odobravaju da se Britanija priključi Zajedničkom tržištu.

(5) He commented on her coming late.
Primijetio je da je ona došla kasno.
/Stavio je primjedbu na njeno kasno dolaženje/.

It is worth mentioning that in the SC rendering of sentence (4) the verb "approve" becomes transitive. Yet another translation of the E sentence (4) can be offered:

(4a) Francuzi ne odobravaju britansko priključenje Zajedničkom tržištu.

15. The following E sentences:

(1) The prisoner escaped, killing two guards.

(2) The prisoner escaped by killing two guards.

might be rendered into SC as follows:

(1a) Zatvorenik je pobjegao ubivši dva stražara.

(2a) Zatvorenik je pobjegao na taj način što je ubio dva stražara (tako što je ubio dva stražara).

Nevertheless, the SC translation: "Zatvorenik je pobjegao ubivši dva stražara" seems to hold good for either E sentence.

16. Several E verbs forming part of the structures under discussion are used idiomatically:

(1) He looked forward to seeing her.
Radovao se što će je vidjeti.

(2) When you get to know him better you will see what he is really like.
Kad ga bolje upoznaš, vidjećeš kakav je on uistinu.

(3) He took to smoking heavily.
Odao se mnogo pušenju.

17. Sentences like "He couldn't get reconciled to her leaving him" can be ambiguous as regards the time expressed in them, and can correspond to the following SC sentences:

(1) Nije mogao da se pomiri s tim da ga je ona napustila,

(2) Nije mogao da se pomiri s tim da će ga ona napustiti,

(3) Nije mogao da se pomiri s tim da ga ona napušta.

In this case only the context can help determine the exact time reference.

SC learners should try to get used to the E structure discussed in this chapter (intr. verb+prep.+ ing-form) because they are likely to use a clause instead of (or rather than) the ing-form ("*He spoke that he was tired" instead of "He spoke of his being tired").

V SUMMARY

The following points concerning the structures dealt with in this paper[6] should be particularly stressed:

a) The SC learner of E must be aware of two possible renderings into SC of the E intr. verb+infinitive structure: first, as a clause, second, as the infinitive ("He came to seem me" – "Došao je da me vidi"/"Došao me je vidjeti").

b) The SC speaker has to learn certain intr. verb+infinitive patterns which frequently correspond to one verb in SC (go to sleep - zaspati). These corresponding SC verbs are often perfective but not necessarily in all cases (i.e. when the E verb is in a continuous tense) /3/.

c) Special attention in teaching should be paid to the verbs "seem" and "appear". When these verbs are followed by the infinitive in E, they are rendered into SC by the impersonal "izgleda"+ da-clause. In negative statements E usually changes "seem" (or "appear") into the negative form, while SC introduces the negation into the clause that follows ("He does not seem to know" - "Izgleda da ne zna") /5/.

d) The use of the ing-form after some E intransitive verbs should be encouraged in SC learners because they will prefer the infinitive to the ing-form in these constructions ("They went to swim" rather than "They went swimming") /6/.

e) Certain E intransitive verbs used in the pattern discussed in /10/express the inchoative aspect of an action (burst out crying, get talking). These verbs ought to be learned as part of vocabulary acquisition.

f) Attention should be paid to the verb "stop" in which there is a difference in meaning depending on whether it is followed by the infinitive or the -ing-form. /11., sentences (4) and (5)/.

g) The E structure intr. verb+prep.+ -ing-form matches the SC structure intr. verb+clause /14/. Therefore, SC learners are likely to transfer the clause to the E structure as well (e.g. "*He spoke that he was tired", instead of "He spoke of his being tired").

h) SC learners of E should know that some E intr. verb+prep+ ing-form combinations are idiomatically used, a number of these very frequently (look forward to seeing, take to drinking, etc.) /1⁶/.

NOTES

1. We will not deal with E constructions consisting of an intransitive verb followed by the -ing-form if it is the present participle, since there does not seem to be much to contrast ("He walked singing" - "Išao je pjevajući").

2. It should be stressed that the use of the infinitive in these cases is more common in the Western variant than it is in the Eastern.

3. Some of these SC verbs which can be followed by the infinitive denote movement (doći, ići, etc.) and frequently an idea of purpose can be associated with them ("Otišli su se kupati", "Došao me je posjetiti"). Similarly, certain SC verbs of intention (namjeravati, kaniti, planirati) seem more capable of taking an infinitival complement than some other verbs ("Namjeravam putovati", "Kanim ići", etc.).

4. In SC we can also set up a similar distinction: "Otišao je da lovi" (purpose); "Otišao je u lov" (direction).

5. A.S. Hornby and others, The Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, OUP 1960, p. 684.

6. The problem of the use of the infinitive vs. the gerund as verbal complement will be treated separately.

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NUMBER AGREEMENT IN ENGLISH AND CORRESPONDENT STRUCTURES IN SERBO-CROATIAN

1. Introduction

1.1. Both English and Serbo-Croatian have number agreement as a feature of grammatical structure, and in both it is the nominal element which governs the modifier or the predicate:

(1) This report deals with the situation in another part of the world.
(1SC) Ovaj izvještaj prikazuje stanje u jednom drugom dijelu svijeta.

(2) These reports deal with the situation in another part of the world.
(2SC) Ovi izvještaji prikazuju stanje u jednom drugom dijelu svijeta.

(3) These men[1] are lunatics.
(3SC) Ovi ljudi su ludjaci.

It would seem from these examples that the two languages behave identically with respect to number agreement and that, consequently, no interference should be expected in this area by Serbo-Croatian speakers learning English. However, a more careful examination of agreement phenomena in English points to certain differences which can be illustrated by the following examples:

(4) The black notebook belongs to my brother.
(4SC) Crna bilježnica pripada mome bratu.

(5) The black notebooks belong to my brother.
(5SC) Crne bilježnice pripadaju mome bratu.

(6) The boy is still very young.
(6SC) Dječak je još uvijek vrlo mlad.

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[1] This paper will be concerned only with the syntactico-semantic aspects of number agreement and will not attempt to deal with the morphophonemics of plural formation in either English or Serbo-Croatian.

(7) The boys are still very young.

(7SC) Dječaci su još uvijek vrlo mladi.

(8) Her son is five now.

(8SC) Njenom sinu je sada pet godina.

(9) Her sons are five and eight.

(9SC) Njeni sinovi su sada stari pet i osam godina.

(10) This pen is mine.

(10SC) Ovo je pero moje.

(11) These pens are mine.

(11SC) Ova su pera moja.

(12) The black notebook belonged to my brother.

(12SC) Crna bilježnica pripadala je mome bratu.

(13) The black notebooks belonged to my brother.

(13SC) Crne bilježnice pripadale su mome bratu.

(14) This paper can serve as a good general introduction to the subject.

(14SC) Ovaj članak može poslužiti kao odličan uvod u taj predmet.

(15) These papers can serve as a good general introduction to the subject.

(15SC) Ovi članci mogu poslužiti kao odličan uvod u taj predmet.

(16) Phonetics is useful in the study of languages.

(16SC) Fonetika je korisna u proučavanju jezika.

(17) John's family aren't impressed by his new wife.

(17SC) Ivanova obitelj nije oduševljena njegovom novom ženom.

1.2. Several observations can be made on the basis of examples (4) through (17). First, neither predicative nor attributive adjectives agree with their nouns in English; in Serbo-Croatian, on the other hand, adjectives are inflected

for - among other things - number, to agree with the nouns to which they refer. (A new exceptions to this general rule, such as the adjectives borrowed by Serbo-Croatian from other languages, will be discussed later.) Second, English possessive pronouns and adjectives, unlike their Serbo-Croatian counterparts, are not inflected for number in a way which would enable them to agree with the nouns to which they refer. Third, while the subject nominal is consistently reflected in the form of the predicate verb in Serbo-Croatian, the same is true in English only in the third person singular present tense and in the present and past tenses of the verb to be (with the exception of the second person singular). No agreement exists in English between the subject and the modal verb. Fourth, some English nouns have plural markers and yet agree with singular verbs; in Serbo-Croatian, the form of such nouns is mostly singular. Fifth, there are nouns in English whose singular form agrees with the plural form of the verb; Serbo-Croatian does not tolerate such lack of agreement.

2. Analytic breakdown

2.1. The study of number agreement can be approached from two main directions: one, from the viewpoint of the word classes governing agreement; two, from the viewpoint of sentence structures involved in agreement. It is clear, in the first case, that the noun is the pivotal element on which agreement hinges. Personal, reflexive, demonstrative, possessive, and to a certain extent indefinite pronouns derive their agreement-governing power from the noun. By their nature, numerals and numerical expressions have the power to govern the number not only of all the "governable" elements but also of nouns themselves. In the second case, the structures affected by agreement

include subject/predicate relations, modification, intra-sentential and extra-sentential antecedence.

2.2. This paper will be devoted to an examination of English nouns and their Serbo-Croatian counterparts in the light of their number-agreement properties. Subsequent papers will deal with pronouns and numerals, and with the problems of agreement in terms of sentence structure.

3. Nouns and the category of number

3.1. The entire question of number agreement is very directly connected with the number form (singular or plural) of the noun chosen in a particular expression. The category of number itself, on the other hand, is an integral part of the noun's meaning and is in fact often taken, in English, as the main criterion in the classification of nouns into a form class of their own. In Serbo-Croatian, case and number are two criteria on the basis of which nouns are recognized and classified. Thus, the general rule is that both English and Serbo-Croatian nouns are marked for number, and that number is a two-term category in both languages (the remnants of the dual in Serbo-Croatian can be disregarded for our purpose), with singular as the unmarked and plural as the marked member of the pair. The rule, as it stands, does not point to any possible source of interference in the speech of Serbo-Croatian learners of English. However, interference does occur for several reasons: (1) not all nouns in the two languages have both singular and plural forms; (2) the classification of nominal lexical items in English and Serbo-Croatian differs with respect to their number-showing ability; (3) certain English nouns follow logical rather than grammatical agreement rules, something that

Serbo-Croatian does not readily admit; (4) semantic changes sometimes accompany changes in the number form, and these do not necessarily follow the same pattern in both languages.

3.2. Nouns are usually subdivided into count (+count) and non-count (-count) on the basis of their ability to form plurals. This subdivision is parallelled by - indeed, dependent upon - the semantic interpretation of their referents as objects that cane come in units of one or more than one, or as those that do not come in such units. It can be predicted that this fact will introduce a measure of uncertainty into the linguistic behavior of native speakers (not everyone will agree with a given interpretation of a referent as, say, mass rather than a unit-object, and even the same speaker will change his interpretation as his focus of interest shifts) and, more importantly for our present purpose, that it will be a source of considerable interference in the learners' speech (because the prevailing interpretations in the two languages can hardly be expected to match at all points).

3.3. While most English singular count nouns have singular counterparts in Serbo-Croatian, there are some, like door, mouth, ladder, newspaper, whose Serbo-Croatian counterparts are plural in form and agreement (vrata, usta, ljestve, novine). It is very easy for the learner to follow the pattern of his mother tongue and produce unintended meanings or downright ungrammatical sentences:

(18SC) Vrata ove sobe su zaključana. [The room has only one door.]
(18) *The doors to this room are locked.

(19SC) Njena usta su vrlo velika. [She has only one mouth.]
(19) *Her mouths are too big.

(20SC) Ove su ljestve prekratke. [Meaning one particular ladder.]

(20) *These ladders are too short.

(21SC) Gdje su današnje novine. [Meaning one particular paper.]

(21) *Where are today's newspapers?

When more than one object of this kind is referred to in Serbo-Croatian, the number is usually specified or is clear from the contest. No interference problem arises in this case:

(22SC) On je pretplaćen na troje novine.

(22) He subscribes to three newspapers.

The source of the error with such nouns lies in the fact that Serbo-Croatian treats them in the same way in which it treats other nouns (see next section) that denote objects which come in indivisible pairs (or in ensembles whose parts are not functionally separable) and which consequently have no singular: vrata (*vrato), usta (*usto), ljestve (*ljestva), novine (*novina, except in some regional dialects). English, on the other hand, treats them as ordinary count nouns with both singular and plural forms: door (doors), mouth (mouths), ladder (ladders), newspaper (newspapers):

(18a) The door to this room is locked. (cf. The doors to all the rooms on this floor are locked.)

(19a) Her mouth is very big. (cf. Their mouths are very big.)

(20a) This ladder is too short. (cf. Both of these ladders are too short.)

(21a) Where is today's newspaper? (cf. 22 above)

3.4. Both English and Serbo-Croatian agree in treating nouns like trousers (hlače), scissors (škare), glasses (naočale), gallows (vješala), etc. as plural nouns with no underlying singular forms: *trouser (*hlača), scissor (*škara), *glass (*naočala), *gallow (*vješalo). With these nouns, no interference in

agreement occurs:

(23) These scissors are very sharp.

(23SC) Ove škare su vrlo oštre.

The only contrastively significant point about these nouns is that English requires the insertion of the word pair(s) when the number is indicated, while Serbo-Croatian can do without it:

(24) He bought three pairs of trousers.

(24SC) Kupio je troje hlače. (or: Kupio je tri para hlača.)

(25) She broke two pairs of glasses.

(25SC) Razbila je dvoje naočale. (less colloquially: Razbila je dva para naočala.)

Serbo-Croatian learners of English are quite likely to leave out pair(s) and produce non-sentences of the following kind:

(24a) *He bought three trousers.

(25a) *She broke two glasses. (ungrammatical in the intended meaning)

3.5. It is important to recall at this point that one can hardly expect a complete overlap in class membership in any of the syntactico-semantic classes set up for any two languages. In our case, the trousers-class of English and the hlače-class of Serbo-Croatian differ both in the choice of lexical items that they include and in their total number. It has already been shown (3.3. above) that Serbo-Croatian includes here some nouns whose English counterparts are ordinary count nouns. English, on the other hand, includes some whose Serbo-Croatian counterparts are regular count nouns: pyjamas (*pyjama) vs. pidžama (cf. pidžame), scales (*scale) vs. vaga (cf. vage), eaves (*eave) vs. streha (cf. strehe). The discrepancy in the treatment of such nouns in the two languages results in the learner producing

ungrammatical sentences, such as the following:

(26) *Where is my pyjama?

(27) *I bought a new pyjama.

(28) *Let's try to weigh it on this scale now. (in the sense of a balance; for other types of weighing instruments, scale may be used)

(29) *We'll wait here under this eave until it stops raining.

3.6. In addition to the above, English has a variety of other nouns which are exclusively, or nearly exclusively, plural in form and also plural in agreement: goods (*good, as a singular of goods), clothes (*clothe), thanks (*thank), proceeds (*proceed), remains (*remain), oats (*oat, in the sense of grains of oats), hops (*hop, in the sense of dried cones used in the beer industry), hives (*hive), slops (*slop), suds (*sud), morals (*moral, in the sense of ethics), etc. Their Serbo-Croatian counterparts are interpreted in the same way, but the syntactic consequences of this interpretation are different: the agreement in Serbo-Croatian is singular in a great majority of cases, thus increasing the "interference potential" of such words: goods - roba (*robe), clothes - odjeća (*odjeće), thanks - zahvalnost (*zahvalnosti), oats - zob (*zobi), hops - hmelj (*hmeljovi), hives - osip (*osipi), suds - pjena (?pjene), morals - moral (? morali). Two possible types of error are to be guarded against: the learner may miss the -s form of such nouns in English (missing their plural agreement in the same process), or he may learn the correct form but miss its property of plural agreement. A few English nouns in this group have a choice of two synonymous counterparts in Serbo-Croatian, one of which is singular and the other plural;

thus, slops - napoj (*napoji) and pomije or splačine; proceeds - zarada (*zarade, in that sense) and prihodi. At least one English noun has a plural counterpart in Serbo-Croatian which also has a straightforward singular form: remains - ostaci (cf. ostatak).

When the collective sense of the Serbo-Croatian words in this group is very prominent (i.e., when they clearly refer to something made up of a number of individual parts), learners have no difficulty in establishing plural agreement in English: the incidence of agreement errors involving nouns such as goods and clothes is smaller than in the case of other nouns in the same group. Abstract nouns of this type cause difficulties not only because they are different from their Serbo-Croatian equivalents in this respect, but also because their plural agreement is "irregular" in comparison with the great majority of English abstract nouns which students are taught to regard as singular. Similarly, errors with nouns like oats and hops are due as much to the pressure of the English lexical set including wheat, rye, barley, maize, etc. as they are to the singular form and agreement of their Serbo-Croatian counterparts.

3.7. Another class of English nouns, also plural in form, are marked both "+singular" and "+plural" for the feature agreement, depending on whether one instance of the referent in question is meant or more than one. The important thing to note is that forms without an -s are not possible and that singular agreement with -s forms is allowed: alms (*alm), means (*mean, in that sense), surroundings (*surrounding), crossroads (*crossroad), headquarters (*headquarter), barracks (*barrack), golf-links (*golf-link), works (*work, in that sense), series (*serie), species (*specie), etc. Both of these

facts are potential sources of difficulty for the Serbo-Croatian learner of English, who is unaccustomed to singular agreement with plural forms and whose native language provides regular singular-plural pairs as counterparts to such English nouns: milodar (milodari; but cf. milostinja), sredstvo (sredstva), okolina (?okoline), raskršće (raskršća), centrala (centrale), kasarna (kasarne), teren za golf (tereni za golf), tvornica (tvornice), serija (serije), vrsta (vrste). Since Serbo-Croatian does not provide for the singular agreement of the plural-looking noun, the learner may easily cut off the final -s and produce non-forms instead of the normal forms:

(30) *The iron-work is located near the river. (cf. The iron-works is located near the river.)

(31) *This was achieved by an extraordinary mean. (cf, This was achieved by an extraordinary means.)

(32) *Almost every town has a golf-link. (cf. Almost every town has a golf-links.)

(33) *The college provides a local headquarter for various voluntary bodies. (cf. The college provides a local headquarters for...)

(34) *They stood at a crossroad. (cf. They stood at a crossroads.)

(35) *Every barrack had a gym. (cf. Every barracks had a gym.)

When his aim is a plural expression, however, his mother tongue creates no obstacle for the learner and he easily produces the correct forms:

(36) Army barracks are usually built on the outskirts of cities.

With the nouns series and species, learners usually realize that the final -s is part of the noun in the singular and do not attempt to drop it. What they sometimes fail to realize, however, is that the same -s does the work of the plural morpheme; not infrequently, therefore, they attempt to form "regular"

plurals:

(37) *Here we have three serieses of figures.

(38) *These specieses are now almost extinct.

3.8. The singular/plural distinction in the agreement of nouns ending in -s does not always reflect the choice of one vs. more than one, as in 3.7. above. Sometimes it reflects the different semantic interpretation - so different in fact that one would probably wish to mark the noun as one lexical entry when its agreement is singular and as another when the agreement is plural. Nouns in this group include physics, phonetics, linguistics, mathematics, economics, politics, genetics, acoustics, statistics, tactics, athletics, gymnastics, etc. The learner's problems with these nouns are twofold: one is purely formal and the other has to do with semantic interpretation. The formal problem is rather trivial and can be eliminated quite easily: it consists in simply showing the learner that not every final -s in a noun is a plural morpheme and that the one in the nouns in this particular group is part of the derivational suffix -ics corresponding to Serbo-Croatian -ika and signifying scientific or sports disciplines. (This is not the whole truth, because variant semantic interpretation and plural agreement is possible precisely because of the surface identity of this -s and the plural -s, but is sufficient to reassure the learner about using -s forms in singular contexts.) The problem of semantic interpretation, however, is more tricky but also more significant for the linguistic behavior of the speakers of the two languages. English speakers can interpret some of the members of this group (namely, statistics, mathematics, politics, acoustics, tactics) both as abstract nouns denoting certain disciplines and as concrete sets of phenomena or practices stemming from these disciolines, Serbo-Croatian speak-

ers can impose only the former interpretation on the corresponding nouns in their own language and are therefore likely to miss sentences (39) - (42) :

(39) If my mathematics are right...

(40) Your statistics are all wrong.

(41) The acoustics of this room are not very good.

(42) His tactics are not easy to understand.

since such sentences are ungrammatical in their mother tongue:

(39SC) *Ako su moje matematike ispravne...

(40SC) *Vaše statistike su sasvim krive.

(41SC) *Akustike ove sobe nisu baš dobre.

(42SC) *Njegove taktike nije baš lako razumjeti.

In this case, as in many other instances, the interference of the learner's native language will not necessarily produce errors in the target language, but it will make it difficult for the student to hit upon certain structures that are natural in that language. Specifically, the Serbo-Croatian learner of English will miss sentences (39) - (42) and will probably substitute them by something like (43) - (46):

(43) If my calculations (computations, mathematical operations) are right...

(44) Your (statistical) data (figures) are all wrong.

(45) The acoustic properties (qualities) of this room are not very good.

(46) His tactical moves (manoeuvres) are not easy to understand.

3.9. Another class of formally plural nouns with singular agreement in English consists of those nouns which refer to single entities or indivisible wholes, such as countries, organizations and companies; thus we get:

(47) The United States is a world power.

(48) The United Nations is doing what it can to preserve world peace.

(49) Warner Brothers is one of the leading Hollywood movie firms.

Serbo-Croatian, again, favors grammatical rather than logical agreement and is responsible for a great deal of interference in the speech of the Serbo-Croatian learners of English:

(47SC) Sjedinjene Države su (*je) svjetska velesila.

(47a) *The United States are a world power.

(48SC) Ujedinjene Nacije čine (*čini) sve što mogu (*može) da bi očuvale (*očuvala) svjetski mir.

(48a) *The United Nations are doing what they can to preserve world peace.

(49SC) Braća Warner su (*je) jedno od vodećih filmskih poduzeća u Hollywoodu.

(49a) *Warner Brothers are one of the leading Hollywood movie firms.

Sometimes, however, English and Serbo-Croatian agree in viewing a given phenomenon as a conglomerate of units rather than a cohesive whole, and no interference occurs:

(50) The Alps lie in the heart of Europe.

(50SC) Alpe leže u srcu Evrope.

No interference in agreement occurs with the Netherlands and Nizozemska, since it is singular in both languages; but learners tend to drop the final -s and produce the ungrammatical *Netherland.

3.10. Our discussion so far has centered upon nouns which are in some way peculiar in English in that they have no underlying singular forms, while their agreement is either automatically plural (3.4, 3.5, 3.6.), or automatically singular (3.9.), or alternately singular and plural, depending on the number of referents involved (3.7.) and on the semantic interpretation imposed upon a particular noun (3.8.). Serbo-Croatian was found to agree with English only in a very few cases (3.4.); in others, corresponding nouns were ordinary count

nouns (3.5, 3.7.), singular collective, mass and abstract nouns with no plural forms or agreement (3.6.), singular abstract nouns with only one semantic interpretation (3.8.), and plural nouns with no singular forms or agreement (3.9.).

We also noted a group of regular count nouns in English whose singular and plural forms had plural correspondents in Serbo-Croatian (3.3.). An opposite case should now be mentioned of ordinary English count nouns whose plural form counterparts in Serbo-Croatian are collectives with singular agreement: flowers - cvijeće, trees - drveće, leaves - lišće, calves - telad, etc. Individualizing plural forms (with an appropriate shift in meaning) also exist in Serbo-Croatian: cvjetovi, drveta (or stabla), listovi [knjige], telići (or telci). Interpreting these nouns as collectives, Serbo-Croatian treats them in the same way in which it treats nouns of the stoka-class; English, however, does not treat them the way it treats nouns of the cattle-class (see below). One might therefore expect interference in the use of English nouns of this kind. But in fact interference is slight because the collective sense of the Serbo-Croatian words is strongly felt (like in the case of roba and odjeća above), thus overriding the force of the singular verb and finding the English plural form as its natural counterpart.

3.11. We can conclude this analysis of plural forms by simply taking note of the fact that certain "irregular" English nouns are likely to cause beginning learners some trouble in the production of plural forms and their agreement, and also sometimes in their proper use in suitable contexts. Such plurals include feet, teeth, oxen, children, mice, lice, dice, men, women, geese, sisters-in-law, hangers-on, passers-by, stimuli, nebulae, genera, crises, species, virtuosi, etc.

There is nothing much that a contrastive analysis of English and Serbo-Croatian can say about such nouns, except to point out that their Serbo-Croatian counterparts behave regularly and form their plurals in the same way in which the bulk of Serbo-Croatian count nouns form them. Both morphophonemically and syntactico-semantically some of these nouns are unsettled for many native speakers of English, and students should be made aware of the courts-martial vs. court-martials vacillation, the virtually established (at least in American English) singular interpretation of d d to a somewhat lesser extent criteria and phenomena, and the attempts at semantic differentiation in pairs such as indexes and indices, appendixes and appendices, formulas and formulae.

3.12. Turning now to an examination of agreement problems involving singular nouns, we can start with those nouns which are "transparent" with regard to agreement in a particular context in which they act as heads of nominal groups: nouns such as kind, sort, part, type, number, group, majority, series, and perhaps a few others, followed by of and plural nouns in a partitive function, have plural agreement despite their singular forms. Actually, it is more accurate to say that the heads are transparent and that the plural nouns which are part of the of-phrase assume the role of heads and govern the verb:

(51) A number of inaccuracies are inevitable in a report of this kind. (But cf. The number of inaccuracies found in the report was (*were) insignificant.)

(52) The majority of those present were in favour of the proposed measure.

(53) A series of events were taking place at that time.

(54) A small group of people were debating the issue in one corner of the room.

Kind and sort have gone so far in this respect that they can, in the speech of many people, even pattern with plural determiners:

(55) Those kind of statements are sure to aggravate the students even more. (cf. *Those group of people were unable to state their case clearly.)

Serbo-Croatian counterparts of such nouns permit of both singular and plural agreement (većina, niz, skupina), or only singular agreement (broj):

(51SC) Izvjestan broj netačnosti neizbježan je (*neizbježne su) u ovakvom izvještaju.

(52SC) Većina prisutnih bila je (bili su) za predloženu mjeru.

(53SC) Niz događaja odvijao se (?odvijali su se) u to isto vrijeme.

(54SC) Mala skupina ljudi pretresala je (?pretresali su) to pitanje u jednom kutu sobe.

Kind and sort usually have no direct counterpart in Serbo-Croatian when used in structures of this type:

(55SC) Ovakve izjave svakako će još više ogorčiti studente.

When vrsta is used as a counterpart, the structure is changed and the plural noun becomes the head, while vrsta is relegated to the of-phrase:

(55aSC) Izjave ovakve vrste ...

The same switch is possible in English too:

(55a) Statements of this kind...

A certain amount of dialectal variation is noticeable among the speakers of Serbo-Croatian. In my idiolect, singular agreement is more natural. Since plural agreement is predominant in English (again, with considerable dialectal variations), interference can be predicted with such nouns.

3.13. One class of singular-looking collective nouns in English - probably rather small - consists of nouns such as cattle, people, folk, vermin, etc. Their agreement pattern is plural and their form is singular: they admit of neither

singular agreement nor plural form. (It should be noted that people in the sense of "race, tribe, nation", an ordinary count noun with regular singular/plural opposition in form and syntactico-semantic patterning, and the colloquial folks, probably an exclusively plural noun without any formal or functional features of singular number, are not included here.) While the semantic interpretation of all these nouns in English is collective, their Serbo-Croatian counterparts are sometimes collective (stoka, gamad) and sometimes count plurals (ljudi). Interference stems from three main sources: first, most collective nouns have singular agreement in Serbo-Croatian and the learner tends to assume that the same is true of their English counterparts; second, when the Serbo-Croatian counterpart of an English noun in this group is plural, the danger is not that the learner will commit an agreement error but rather that he will relate plural agreement to plural form and add an -s to nouns that normally reject it; third, in the case of people, the counterpart is either the collective narod (Tamo je bilo mnogo naroda, i sav je narod slušao govornika s velikim zanimanjem) or the plural ljudi (Tamo je bilo mnogo ljudi, i svi su oni slušali govornika s velikim zanimanjem); the learner is more likely to make a mistake in agreement if he decides to model his English sentence on the former (*There was a lot of people there, and all the people was listening to the speaker with great interest) than if he models it on the latter, when the agreement pattern will be correct, though the learner may still get the form wrong (*There were many peoples there, and they all listened to the speaker with great interest).

3.14. Owing to the possible conflicting semantic interpretations of collective nouns as having either individuals composing wholes or wholes composed of individuals as their referents, the problem of number agreement cannot be resolved in any clear-cut way, with rules that the learner could apply automatically to produce correct sentences.

Thus, there is another group of nouns, including police, public, staff, clergy, gentry, poultry, cavalry, infantry, military, etc., which are similar to those just discussed in rejecting the plural form while admitting of plural agreement. These nouns, however, also accept singular agreement when their referents are taken to be collective bodies viewed as wholes. Note the difference between (56) and (57), (58) and (59), (60) and (61):

(56) The police are still fighting demonstrators in the center of the town.

(57) Police is an indispensable part of any organized state.

(58) How often have the military intervened to prevent an orderly transfer of power?

(59) Is the military to blame if...

(60) Poultry are easier to grow than cattle.

(61) His poultry is still healthy, even though all the neighbouring farms have been attacked by the disease. (Notice that the referents in both cases are live birds. When the referent is poultry meat, the agreement is only singular.)

Serbo-Croatian counterparts of these nouns, under both interpretations, are collective nouns with singular agreement; plural agreement is not possible. This fact poses no difficulty when the learner aims at sentences such as (57), (59) and (61); however, it does lead to interference when he wants to produce sentences (56), (58) and (60). Sentence (56), for instance, has (56SC) as its normal Serbo-Croatian equivalent:

(56SC) Policija se još uvijek bori s demonstrantima u središtu grada.

Starting from this sentence, the learner can only come out with (56a) in English:

(56a) *The police is still fighting* demonstrators in the center of the town.

which is not the most natural rendering of (56SC).

At least one Serbo-Croatian noun in this group, policija, is pluralizable when its referent is institutional, which is another source of interference in the speech of Serbo-Croatian learners of English:

(62SC) Policije dviju zemalja zajednički rade na suzbijanju organiziranog kriminala.

(62) *The polices of the two countries work together in fighting organized crime.

In order to avoid such errors, the student will have to learn to find a suitable count noun that can be pluralized:

(62a) The police forces (organizations) of the two countries work together in fighting organized crime.

3.15. The last fact, the inability to form plurals in English, distinguishes nouns of the police-group from a sizable group of collective nouns represented by family, government, army, group, team, committee, crowd, audience, couple, etc. whose singular forms have either singular or plural agreement, depending on whether their referents are viewed as cohesive wholes and treated as units, or as loose composites of individual parts. If the former is the case, these nouns - unlike those of the police-group - form a regular plural in the same way in which the Serbo-Croatian noun policija was seen to form it in the preceding section. Serbo-Croatian counterparts of these nouns (obitelj, vlada, armija, skupina, ekipa, odbor, gomila, publika, par) also form plurals and generally behave as count nouns when their referents are envisaged as units. The entire range of syntactic patterning can be illustrated as

follows:

(63) This family is pretty large. vs. These families are pretty large.

(64) My family are early risers.

(Certain structural restrictions on the type of agreement illustrated in (64) will be discussed in a subsequent paper devoted to the problem of agreement seen in the light of sentence structure. An example of such restriction is provided by the following pair of sentences: The family are arranging a big birthday party for her. vs. *Each family are making the necessary preparations for the big day.)

Serbo-Croatian learners of English have no difficulty with these nouns when the target structure is of the type illustrated in (63) above:

(63SC) Moja obitelj je dosta velika. vs. Te obitelji su dosta velike.

In both languages, number agreement patterns are the same in this case. However, (64) cannot possibly give (64SC) but only (64aSC) or (64bSC):

(64SC) *Moja obitelj su ranoranioci.

(64aSC) Svi članovi moje obitelji su ranoranioci.

(64bSC) Svi u mojoj porodici su ranoranioci. (Or: U mojoj porodici svi su ranoranioci).

The student who does not learn to combat his native patterns will therefore miss (64) altogether and will produce (64a) and (64b) instead:

(64a) All members of my family are early risers.

(64b) All people in my family are early risers. (Other types of interference are likely to set in at this point and an inexperienced student will hardly be able to find his way out of the maze of usage complexities involving pronouns: *All in my family are early risers. ?In my family all are early risers. *Everybody in my family is early risers. *Everybody in my family are early risers. Everybody in my family is an early riser. - Number agreement with pronouns will be discussed in a subsequent paper.)

3.16. Another group of nouns whose singular forms appear in both singular and plural agreement patterns include sheep (*sheeps), deer (*deers), fish (but also fishes), salmon (*salmons), mackerel (*mackerels), trout (*trouts), chamois (*chamoises), perch (*perches), grouse (*grouses), aircraft (*aircrafts), Japanese (*Japaneses), Portuguese (*Portugueses), Swiss (*Swisses), etc. When the referent is a single individual, agreement is singular; when more individuals are referred to, agreement is plural. (When the flesh of the animals in this group is referred to as food, the corresponding noun is a non-count mass nouns and the agreement pattern is singular.) Serbo-Croatian counterparts of these nouns do not differ from English in their semantic interpretation and syntactic patterning, but morphologically they are clearly singular forms with regular plurals: ovca (ovce), jelen (jeleni), riba (ribe), losos (lososi), skuša (skuše), pastrva (pastrve), divokoza (divokoze), grgeč (grgeči), tetrijeb (tetrijebovi), avion (avioni), Japanac (Japanci), Portugalac (Portugalci), Švicarac (Švicarci). Plural forms are always used when the referent is more than one. Learners are often unaware of the morphological anomaly displayed by the English nouns in this group and easily produce ungrammatical forms, assuming that nouns which are morphologically regular in their own language will be equally regular in the foreign language.

3.17. A similar, though somewhat more complicated, problem arises in connection with nouns that are only mass (or abstract) in English and both mass and count in Serbo-Croatian. Such nouns have no plural forms in English - and this is not just a morphological accident, a kind of zero plural as in the case of nouns in the preceding section, but rather a consequence of their semantic

interpretation. Their Serbo-Croatian counterparts, due again to their own semantic interpretation, have regular plural forms. Interference is therefore to be expected, and indeed it often occurs, when the concept that the learner wants to express is plural: he does not remember that the plural concept with such nouns can only be expressed in English by making the noun in question into an of-phrase dependent on a newly introduced head selected from a limited class of count nouns expressing appropriate quantitative relations: advice - pieces, bits of advice (*advices), information - pieces, bits of information (*informations), news - pieces of news (*newses), evidence - pieces of evidence (*evidences), nonsense - bits of nonsense (*nonsenses), gossip - pieces of gossip (*gossips), chalk - pieces of chalk (*chalks), bread - pieces, loaves of bread (*breads), furniture - pieces of furniture (*furnitures), soap - bars of soap (*soaps), lightning - flashes of lightning (*lightnings), thunder - claps of thunder (*thunders), grass - blades of grass (*grasses), lace - strips of lace (*laces; but shoe-laces), etc. It is only to be expected that the learner will encounter the same kind of difficulty in his use of these nouns as singular count nouns, which his language allows but English does not. The remedy again is to use an of-construction headed by the singular form of one of the quantity-nouns illustrated here. Failure to do this will result in ungrammatical sentences:

(65SC) Njegovi savjeti nisu joj ništa koristili.
(65) *His advices were of no use to her.
(66SC) Smijem li ti ja dati jedan savjet?
(66) *May I give you an advice?
(67SC) Sve potrebne informacije možete dobiti od tajnika.
(67) *All necessary informations can be obtained from the secretary.
(68SC) Uzmi kredu i piši.
(68) *Take a chalk and write.

3.18. Certain other mass nouns in English can be "countified" in appropriate contexts without the use of preposed quantity-nouns. Text and grammar books usually exemplify the particularizing process by giving tea and coffee as examples of mass nouns that become count when different brands or types are meant. Bread also has breads, referring to different varieties of bread. It is less often noted, however, that there are two more semantic processes by which a mass noun of this kind (including coffee, tea, tobacco, toothpaste, milk, beer, water, snow, rain, sand, etc.) can turn into a count noun: one, by referring to the substance by means of a standard container with which it is associated, and the other by assigning to the substance a special scale value. Note that this latter process is different from the former: while one can speak about one beer, two beers, and just beers, one can only speak about snow (as mass) and snows (as more impressive mass), but one cannot speak about one snow and two snows. No contrastively significant differences exist between the two languages, and the three processes can be illustrated with the same nouns in English and Serbo-Croatian:

(69) These are two quite different tobaccoes.
(69SC) Ovo su dva sasvim različita duhana.
(70) Three beers, please.
(70SC) Tri piva, molim.
(71) The rains are coming.
(71SC) Kiše dolaze.

3.19. With some mass and abstract nouns, "countification" is accompanied by a shift of meaning: paper (SC papir) vs. a paper (SC novine, dokument), papers (SC novine, dokumenti); hair (SC kosa) vs. a hair (SC vlas, dlaka), hairs (SC dlake); hope (SC nada) vs. hopes (SC nadanja, i.e. expectations).

The shift is even more perceptible in the following: air (SC zrak) vs. an air (SC izgled), airs (SC pompoznost). For the learner such differences involve much more than mere number agreement and are probably best presented in terms of different lexical items, or at least different entries within the same item.

3.20. In contrast to the cases already discussed in which English mass nouns had count counterparts in Serbo-Croatian, there is also a small group of English count nouns matched by Serbo-Croatian mass nouns (or rather mass uses of nouns which are both count and mass). Thus, the English word potato, for instance, is interpreted as count not only when it refers to individual pieces but also when it refers to potatoes variously processed (viewing them, so to speak, in their pre-processed state); Serbo-Croatian krumpir, on the other hand, is mass in the latter case (focusing on the result of the processing):

(72) I'll have mashed potatoes with my steak.
(72SC) Ja ću uzeti pire krumpir s biftekom.
(73) Fried potatoes are best with fish.
(73SC) S ribom je najbolji prženi krumpir.

Carrot, onion, and pea belong to the same group; but cabbage and bean do not because the two languages treat them identically: cf. sausages with cabbage vs. kobasice s kupusom, carrots and beans vs. mrkva i mahune.

3.21. For the purposes of this analysis, we shall include among nouns also adjectives and participles that function nominally and influence agreement. This group is usually exmplified by the poor and the young, and it is said that the agreement is plural. However, the agreement can also be singular, as in the deceased and the accused (count), or the unknown and the unthinkable (abstract).

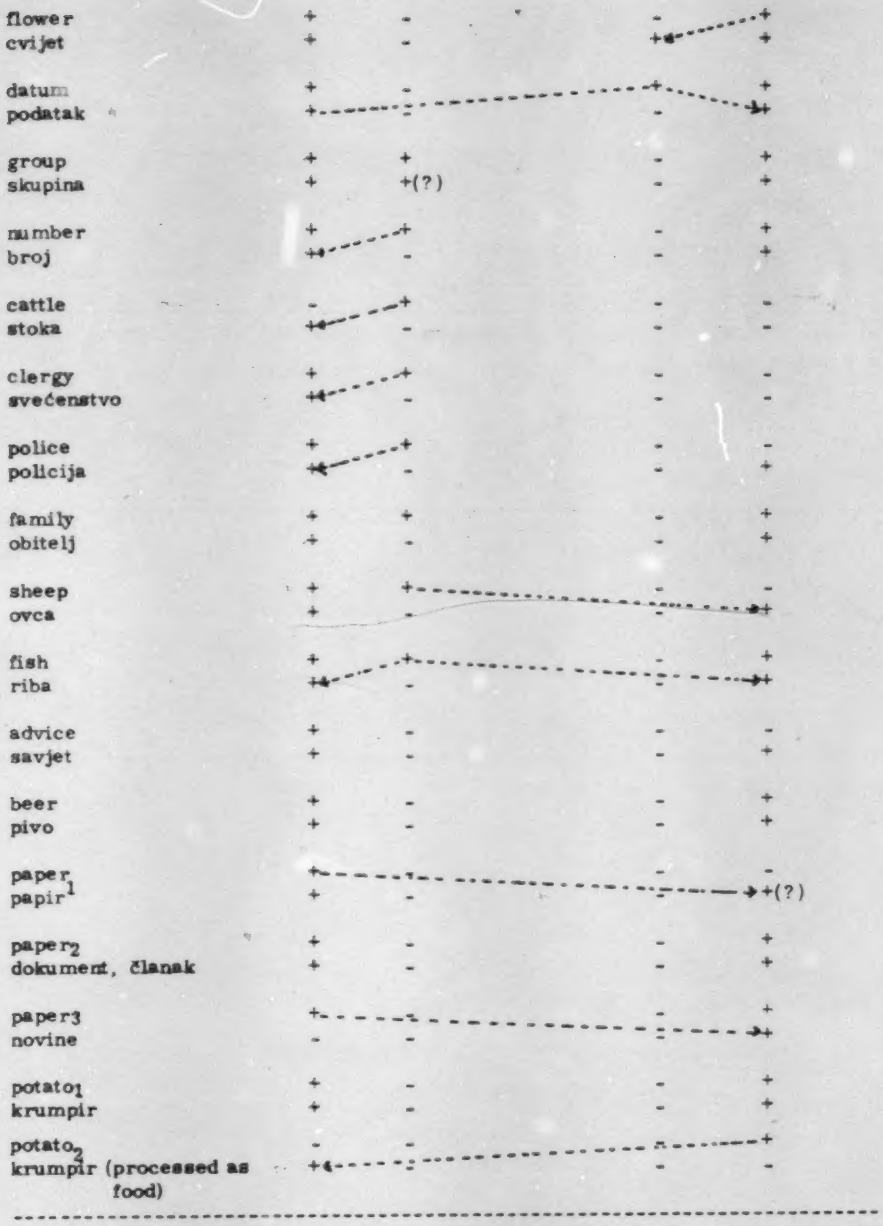
Serbo-Croatian agrees with English in the semantic interpretation and syntactic patterning of these forms, and no interference occurs.

3.22. The preceding analysis can be summarized by saying that the processes of number agreement affecting English and Serbo-Croatian nouns are quite similar: both languages have a two-term number system for nouns (singular and plural) as a category of the language, and in both number is determined by the semantic interpretation of the noun in question and reflected in its form and agreement with certain other forms functioning in the same context (most frequently in the same sentence). Two basic differences between English and Serbo-Croatian are responsible for most of the interference in learners' speech: (1) the two languages differ in the semantic interpretation of certain nouns and, consequently, in the class membership of count, collective, mass and abstract nouns; (2) English favors logical agreement even when this means violating the rules of formal agreement, Serbo-Croatian favors grammatical agreement in those cases in which the two criteria, grammatical and logical, are in competition.

Appendix

The following contrastive table shows how the different classes of nouns discussed in this paper behave with respect to the category of number. Each noun in the table stands for a class that displays certain peculiarities in English or that behaves differently from its Serbo-Croatian correspondents. (Note: Arrows point to the grammatical features of the Serbo-Croatian correspondent when these are different from the features of the English member of the pair.)

Noun	Singular form		Plural form	
	sg_{agr}	pl_{agr}	sg_{agr}	pl_{agr}
door	+	-	-	+
vrata	-	-	-	+
trousers	-	-	-	+
hlače	-	-	-	+
Pyjamas	-	-	-	+
pidžama	+	-	-	+
goods	-	-	-	+
roba	+	-	-	-
remains	-	-	-	+
ostatak	+	-	-	+
means	-	-	+	+
sredstvo	+	-	-	+
physics	-	-	+	-
fizika	+	-	-	-
statistics	-	-	+	+
statistika	+	-	-	-
The United States	-	-	+	-
Sjedinjene Države	-	-	-	+


flower
cvijet
datum
podatak
group
skupina
number
broj
cattle
stoka
clergy
svećenstvo
police
policija
family
obitelj
sheep
ovca
fish
riba
advice
savjet
beer
pivo
paper1
papir
paper2
dokument, članak
paper3
novine
potato1
krumpir
potato2
krumpir (processed as food)
+(?)

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THE EXPRESSION OF FUTURE TIME IN ENGLISH AND IN SERBO-CROATIAN

1.0. Future time can be expressed both in English and SC by means of several grammatical devices which will be listed and exemplified below.

1.1. The future-expressing grammatical devices in English are:

(i)	Present tense simple (the verb stem):	I walk;
(ii)	Present continuous(am, is, are + ing):	I am walking;
(iii)	am, are, is, + going to + infinitive:	I am going to walk;
(iv)	am, are, is + to + infinitive:	I am to walk;
(v)	am, are, is + sure/certain to+infinitive:	I am sure/certain to walk;
(vi)	am, are, is+about to + infinitive:	I am about to walk;
(vii)	intend, promise, want etc. to + inf.:	I intend to walk;
(viii)	shall, will + infinitive:	I shall/will walk (be walking, have walked);
(ix)	Present perfect (have + past participle):	..I have walked;
(x)	should, would + infinitive:	... I should/would walk;
(xi)	can(or any modal) + infinitive:	I can (may, must, etc.) walk;
(xii)	was, were (certain/sure, about) to + inf.:	..I was (etc.) to go.

1.2. The number of structures with future reference increases if we take into consideration that structures (iii) through (xii) may occur in the continuous form. Some of them may be infrequent but grammatically quite possible (e.g. The dog will be being walked).

1.3. Structures (x) and (xii) signal the so-called future in the past .

1.4. The imperative also refers to future time and the only reason for not including it here is a practical one: it is going to be treated in another article within this project. This applies to SC as well.

1.5. The speaker of Serbo-Croatian has the following structures at his disposal when referring to future:

(i) Prezent (verb stem plus present tense endings):

Sutra čitam referat;
I am reading a paper tomorrow;

(ii) Futur I (ću, ćeš etc. + infinitiv, or da + prezent):

Ja ću čitati (da čitam) / čitat ću ;
I will read;

(iii) Futur II (budem, budeš etc. + "l" participle):

Dok budem čitao, ti šuti;
While I am reading, you be quiet;

(iv) Aorist (verb stem + aorist endings):

Ako je dobijem na vrijeme pročitah tu knjigu do sutra;
If I get it on time, I'll read the book by tomorrow;

(v) Perfekt (enclitic forms of biti + "l" participle):

Ako se malo pomučite, pročitali ste;
If you take a little trouble, you've got it read;

(vi) "Modal" and "medial" verbs + infinitive (or da + prezent):

Poslije podne mogu čitati (da čitam).
I can read this afternoon;
Sutra namjeravam putovati;
I intend to leave tomorrow.

2.0. Not all the listed devices, in E or in SC, are available to each verb. There are restrictions in this respect related to the aspect or other semantic features of the verb.

2.1. The aspect is expressed formally in SC, e.g. imperfective: čitati - perfective: pročitati and in E it is included in the meaning of the verb, e.g. imp. watch - perf. spot. In both languages, perfective verbs in the present tense form in main clauses cannot express a future event, e.g. *I spot him tomorrow, *Ja pročitam sutra. This rule is not applicable to conditional and temporal subordinate clauses, e.g. If I spot him tomorrow... Kad sutra pročitam...

2.2. The verbs expressing "state" also called stative verbs, e.g. know, cannot refer to future time in the present tense form (either simple or continuous), as distinguished from verbs denoting "motion" or "change" e.g. leave, come, etc. Similar restrictions seem to operate in SC (*Ja znam sutra.)

2.3. These interesting relations holding between semantic features of verbs and the use of various devices to express future time are barely touched upon in teaching, partly owing to the fact that dictionaries listing all or most of the grammatical affinities of individual verbs are not available, and partly because teaching the grammar of individual verbs to learners at a lower level of proficiency may seem impractical. There seems to be a tendency in many teaching books to make generalizations about the use and meaning of different devices to express future time (and also other time relations), and if restrictions are mentioned it is done only superficially. A good example of such an attitude is the rule, often found in teaching grammars, which says that verbs of coming and leaving refer to future time in their present-tense form. As a matter of fact, a lot of other verbs besides those of coming and leaving refer to future time in this form, apparently all verbs whose meaning is compatible with prediction; but as systematic lists are not available, textbook writers are satisfied to mention the most frequent verbs used in this way.

Most of what has been said is applicable to SC where there has been hardly any effort to make such lists.

2.4. The fact that the meaning of the verb is often decisive for the temporal meaning of various devices expressing future time makes it a

very difficult task to define a generally valid difference in meaning among these various devices. Still, English teaching grammars written for foreigners try to differentiate such signals. SC grammars do not pay attention to such shades of meaning and Stevanović simplifies the whole matter by stating that between future reference expressed by Prezent and Futur I there is no difference in meaning at all.

2.5. Though the name Futur (I) is generally applied to the structure ću, ćeš etc. + infinitive (da + Prezent) in SC, there is no complete agreement among linguists as to which of the future-expressing devices in E the label is to be applied to. Traditionally, the structure shall/will + infinitive bears the name of the future tense, but some linguists consider going to + infinitive equally deserving of the label. The whole controversy is based on the presumption that there must be a future tense in E with practically no modal overtones, as is apparently found in some principal European languages (French, Italian etc.), as distinguished from other forms which, besides their future reference, are modally coloured. However, Jespersen and Fries insist that every prediction carries a certain amount of modality, since talking about futurity is not talking about solid facts, and intention, resolve, determination, compulsion, or necessity are always present. In the light of such an explanation, the question of which of the forms is to be labelled future tense seems to be a matter of convenience.

2.6. It is difficult to say which of the forms listed above occurs most frequently or may be considered the favourite device to refer to futurity as so many elements are involved in this choice, including the character of

the subject, the kind of verb, the style etc. Some frequency counts on written corpuses suggest that the present tense and shall, will + infinitive[1] occur most frequently as future-expressing devices in English. We have not come across similar counts in SC.

2.7. In view of what has been said in 2.6. it will depend on the textbook writer or teacher which form or forms to introduce first when teaching future reference to beginners. Most courses rely on shall, will + infinitive in this situation, but some American English courses under the influence of the idea that colloquial style should have primacy in teaching use going to + infinitive at the very beginning. These two devices are equally useful, as they have one feature in common: they are "universal" in the sense that any English verb may refer to the future by means of both the devices, which is not true of the present simple and continuous (the other listed forms being less frequent or modally highly coloured).

2.8. There is little agreement in the literature on the question of whether certain forms expressing future time in English signal nearer future as a continuation of the present and others the future detached from the present. Joos[2], for instance, denies such a possibility, and states that English grammar has no device whatever for cutting future away from the present, but some teaching grammars suggest such a possibility, illustrating it with examples like the following: I am about to start my meal / I will be about to land at Bathurst ; and I am going to start my meal / I will be going to land at Bathurst[3], where the sentences containing will imply the future detached from present. Here again the context and the meaning of the verb seem to have a

decisive influence on the interpretation of the verbal structure.

Similar distinctions in SC have not received much attention in the literature, and it seems difficult to find contrasting examples which would be parallel to the English ones given above. The distinctions in the meanings the various forms suggest, with the exception of Futur II, do not seem to be temporal.

2.9. The clearest distinction in temporal relations within the future time sphere achieved by grammatical devices in English is that between future and before future; the latter relation being expressed by shall, will + have + past participle, or by have + past part. in subordinate clauses (cf. 9.0).

3.0. Present tense simple with future reference

(1) He retires next year.

(1SC) Ide u mirovinu slijedeće godine.

Present simple is used for future reference when everything has been fixed and nothing interferes with the realisation of the event. As nothing concerning weather conditions can be considered fixed,

(2) *It rains tomorrow

(2SC) Sutra pada kiša

is not acceptable.

3.1. The generalization given above requires a few qualifications. First, the present simple with future reference requires an adverb of time or some other time specification (see (1)).

Second, not all verbs in English may express future reference by means of the present simple. This restriction applies to the so-called "private verbs"[4] like see, hear, smell, taste, feel etc. (denoting sensations); think, imagine, hope, believe etc. (denoting mental actvities), and "status verbs" like: contain, belong, consist, depend, own (denoting a state not an activity).

(3) *I know the answer tomorrow.

(3SC) *Znam sutra odgovor.

(4) *He appears tired next week.

(4SC) *On izgleda umoran slijedeći tjedan.

(5) *John resembles his father in a few years.

(5SC) *Ivan sliči svome ocu za nekoliko godina.

The verbs listed above and exemplified in (3) through (5) do not admit of planning or predicting with certainty, which is one of the distinctive characteristics of the present tense simple used to denote a future event.

3.2. Teaching grammars repeat the statement that the present simple with future reference is used of verbs denoting "coming and leaving". This statement is obviously too narrow, but it is certain that verbs with these or similar meanings are used in this way most frequently.

3.3. Prezent in SC is a common grammatical device to denote a future event.

(6SC) Večeras idemo u kino.

(6) We are going to the cinema this evening.

The adverb of time or some other time specification is required with prezent when referring to future (see (6SC)).

This form of expressing future reference in SC is not available to all the verbs in the language, and restrictions exist based on the verbal aspect and on the meaning of individual verbs.

As concerning the aspect, only imperfective verbs may refer to the future in the form of prezent:

(7SC) Za dva dana selimo odavde.

(7) We move out of here in two days.

The present tense form of the perfective verb iseliti would hardly fit in (7SC).

3.4. As concerns the meaning, there are certain similarities in the two languages between the verbs that are not used to refer to futurity in the present tense form. Note that SC verbs in the examples (3SC), (4SC), and (5SC), which are the nearest semantic equivalents of the E verbs in (3), (4), and (5), cannot refer to the future with the present tense forms. The semantic equivalents of the English "status" verbs quoted in 3.1. would hardly be used in the SC prezent to refer to futurity and would probably require a "time shifter" (Joos) i.e. the auxiliary ću, ćeš, etc., in the same manner as the "status" verbs require shall, will or going to in order to express future reference in English. If such a similarity does exist on a wider scale - which is yet to be confirmed by research - it would be helpful in teaching and, perhaps, in explaining why there is little difficulty for the speaker of SC in the use of the English present tense simple with future reference.

3.5. The E present tense refers to future time in temporal and conditional clauses:

(8) If he comes, I'll go.
(9) When he comes, I'll go.
(8SC) Ako on dodje, otići ću.
(9SC) Kad on dodje, otići ću.

The list of verbs occurring in the present tense with future reference in temporal and conditional clauses seems longer, as some "status" verbs may refer to future in these constructions:

(10) If the child resembles his father (when he is grown up) it'll be bad.
(10SC) Ako dijete bude sličilo ocu (kad poraste), bit će loše.

(11) When I differ from him in my approach, I'll let you know.

(11SC) Kad se budem razlikovao od njega u pristupu, obavijestit ću te.

(12) If I like it, it'll be a good sign.

(12SC) Ako mi se svidja, bit će to dobar znak.

The verbs in the conditional and temporal clauses in (10) through (12) could not express futurity by means of the present simple in an independent simple sentence:

(13) *I differ from him tomorrow.

(13SC) *Razlikujem se od njega sutra.

3.6. In SC prezent may refer to the future in conditional and temporal clauses. As a rule it is the prezent of perfective verbs only (see (8SC) and (9SC)), as imperfective verbs in such clauses take Futur II to refer to future time (see (10SC), (11SC)). (12SC) is perhaps a marginal case where prezent of the imperfective verb may refer to future time but there also Futur II would be more acceptable.

3.7. Pedagogical implications

The present tense forms in E. and SC are considerably different in their surface structure. In English there is the stem and a single ending for the third person, against the stem and 6 endings in SC. There is the formal distinction in SC between the perfective and imperfective aspect with its consequences on the temporal meaning of verbs. In spite of all that, the use of simple present for future does not seem to appear strange to the learner. We have seen that certain verbs of status and some other types of verbs cannot refer to future time in their present-tense form in either language. Interference problems in this area are therefore unlikely.

4.0. Present continuous with future reference

(14) I am retiring (next year).

(14SC) Spremam se u mirovinu slijedeće godine.

The present continuous is used for future time when the realisation of the event is dependent on a preparatory phase, when a plan or a decision precedes the realisation.

4.1. As distinguished from the simple present, the present continuous with future reference does not necessarily require an adverb of future time, on condition that it is clear from the situation or context that it does not refer to the present moment. Thus a context like:

(15) I have made it clear to my boss that I am retiring.

(15SC) Stavio sam do znanja svom šefu da idem u mirovinu.

leaves no doubt that the present continuous, even without future time adverb, refers to future time.

4.2 There is a restriction on the type of verb most commonly used in the present continuous with future reference. Thus "status verbs", which do not normally form the present continuous, are excluded from using this structure to refer to the future. Similarly "private verbs" like think, imagine, hope, believe, and also smell, feel, hear, see, taste (except in some special senses like: She is seeing him next Monday.).

4.3. The present continuous may refer to future in main clauses as well as in subordinate conditional and temporal clauses.

4.4. The present continuous as such is a special grammatical form for the learner with SC background, whether in its present time or future time reference.

Its future reference will be presented to the learner once its most frequent use, i.e. its present-time meaning, has been internalized. Then it may not prove such a difficulty. However it seems that there is very little to compare here with the expression of future in his mother tongue, and the learner is faced with the problem of "total learning".

5.0. Going to + infinitive. One of the acceptable definitions of the meaning of this structure says that here the focus is on some present activity which the speaker feels certain will lead to some future event[5]. The present activity can be decision, intention, or preparation, or an obvious symptom of what the future will bring.

(16) I am going to end this chapter soon.

(16SC) Uskoro ću završiti (završavam) ovo poglavlje.

(17) I am going to sneeze in a moment.

(17SC) Sad ću kihnuti.

(18) It is going to rain.

(18SC) Kiša će.

5.1. On the question of delimination between the meanings of the present continuous with future reference and the going to + infinitive form, the following can be suggested. The present continuous with future reference (am leaving) suggests that preliminary plans, decisions, and arrangements have been made, while going to + infinitive (am going to leave) implies that personal intentions or (frequently with inanimate subjects) objective symptoms are leading to a completed act.

5.2. It is sometimes stated but by no means universally accepted by grammarians that of the three constructions: I am leaving, I am going to leave and I'll leave the first two are more suggestive of the present continued, the

last one of the future detached from the present.

5.3. Stylistically going to + infinitive belongs more to conversational English than to formal written English.

5.4. Translation equivalents of this construction are both ću, ćeš - infinitive and prezent with future reference. Perhaps the meaning of the main verb has a role in the choice.

5.5. Pedagogical implications.

Although in some cases a literal translation of the construction going to + infinitive may cover its meaning, e.g.

(19) I am going to write.
(19SC) Idem pisati

where both I am going to and idem seem to be grammatical devices and not full verbs, we can hardly refer to this in teaching. Going to + infinitive is to be taken up as a completely new grammatical structure and treated as a problem of "total learning".

6.0. Shall, will + infinitive. This is often considered a neutral expression of future, particularly useful when the future event depends on external circumstances. In many teaching books this form is labelled the future tense. Statistical surveys of written sources suggest that this is the most frequent device for expressing future.

(20) That's the phone. I'll answer it.
(20SC) To zvoni telefon. Ja ću se javiti.

(21) I'll come when I am ready.
(21SC) Doći ću kad budem gotov.

6.1. There is a considerable literature on the topic of the so-called "pure" and "coloured" futures, i.e. the future which merely refers to future time and the future which carries with its future reference certain modal meanings. The paradigm with shall in the first person singular and plural used to be taken as such a "pure" future tense. It has been pointed out by many native speaker grammarians however, that the substitution of will for shall in such a paradigm changes very little in the meaning, and the subtle distinctions obtained in this way are such that two educated native speakers of English could hardly agree on their meanings. Shall in this function is more frequently found in British than in American English. The most frequent auxiliary found in speech is the abbreviated form 'll, except in verbal questions, where the full form is obligatory. Shall is most frequent in questions of the first person.

6.2. The SC translation equivalents of this form are both ću, ćeš - infinitive and prezent of imperfective verbs, the choice being dependent on the meaning of the verb and a number of subtle reasons.

6.3. Pedagogical implications. Practically any English verb preceded by (shall, will) 'll obtains a future reference. We have mentioned that this device is also most frequently found in written sources in order to make verbs refer to future. These are probably very good reasons to present this form as the "representative" future form when the learner is getting his first ideas of how to express the three main time references: the past, the present, and the future. However care should be taken that this state of things does not go on for very long, otherwise the learner may find it difficult to fit

other forms with future reference into the framework of his English.

7.0. Shall, will + be + pres. participle also called the future continuous.

The principal meanings of this form are:

a) denoting an action in progress at a given time in future:

(22) When I get back they'll be having supper.

(22SC) Kad se vratim, oni će biti za večerom (baš će večerati).

b) denoting definite future time signalled, as a rule, by an adverbial:

(23) I'll be seeing her tomorrow afternoon.

(23SC) Vidjet ću se s njome sutra poslije podne.

c) to disambiguate the second person question (and in general to mark absence of the mood which may be felt through the use of shall and will):

(24) Will you stay in Paris this autumn?

(24SC) Želite li ostati u Parizu ove jeseni? (Dajte, ostanite!)

(25) Will you be staying in Paris this autumn?

(25SC) Da li ćete biti u Parizu ove jeseni? (Da ili ne?)

7.1. The future continuous is very frequently replaceable by the present continuous in two of the three meanings mentioned, e.g.

(23a) I am seeing her tomorrow afternoon. (cf. 23)

(24a) Are you staying in Paris this autumn? (cf. 24)

The translation equivalents of these sentences would be (23SC) and (24SC) i.e. unchanged. Such a replacement in sense a) would affect the meaning of the sentence e.g.:

(22a) When I get back they are having supper

which suggests a different type of temporal relations.

7.2. Translation equivalents of this form in SC are the future tense or prezent of imperfective verbs, but note also the possibilities in (24SC).

7.3. Pedagogical implications. Like other continuous tenses, this tense is difficult to relate to any specific form in SC in such a way that the relation would function as one-to-one.

Attention should be paid especially to meaning b) when the form denotes a specified future time, as this use has no obvious connection with the (limited) duration to which continuous tenses are usually related in necessarily simplified teaching schemes.

8.0. Shall, will + have + past participle also called the future perfect or the before-future.

This form has a precisely definable temporal meaning. It denotes that a certain action will be completed by a certain future moment (possibly before another future action).

(26) The horse race will have started before we even leave home.
(26SC) Konjske trke će početi čak prije nego mi izidjemo iz kuće.
(27) By the end of June he will have written his second novel.
(27SC) Do kraja lipnja napisat će (završit će) svoj drugi roman.

8.1. Note the absence of shall and will auxiliaries in temporal and conditional clauses. The meaning of the future perfect or before-future is then expressed by the perfect tense:

(28) The country will look quite different when the leaves have fallen.
(28SC) Kraj će izgledati sasvim drugačije kad padne (bude opalo) lišće.

8.2. Translation equivalents of this temporal meaning depend on whether the before-future is found in the main clause (when shall and will are used), or in the subordinate clause (signalled by the present perfect). In the former case ću, ćeš + infinitive (da + prezent) seems to be the only equivalent,

and in the latter case it may be rendered by either Prezent or Futur II (as illustrated by (26) through (28).). Note that both Prezent and Futur II of perfective verbs renders the E before-future in SC subordinate clauses (cf. (28SC)).

8.3. We may conclude from the above that when used to denote before-future time, shall + have + past part. in main clauses and pres. perfect in subordinate clauses of time and condition have a temporal meaning which is comparatively easy to demonstrate and define. In addition their translation equivalents in Serbo-Croatian are definite.

Pedagogically speaking this may have value only for the teacher and the advanced sophisticated student. In actual teaching this complex form w a special meaning requires considerable effort from the student and the instructor.

9.0. Shall, will + have + been + pres. participle also labelled the future perfect continuous.

Here the action of the verb is considered from some definite point in the future and it is not completed:

(29) By the end of the year I'll have been writing this book for just over six months.

(29SC) Na kraju godine bit će nešto preko šest mjeseci da pišem tu knjigu.
(već ću nešto preko šest mjeseci pisati tu knjigu)

9.1. The translation equivalent of this structure in SC is either (and more commonly) bit će + adverbial + da + prezent or ću, ćeš future with appropriate adverbials.

9.2. Pedagogical implications

This is a structure with a low frequency of occurrence, at least in written English. This implies that it is not essential in elementary courses. On the other hand advanced students of English have little opportunity to reinforce its use precisely because of its infrequency in texts, and adequate care should be paid to its proper explanation and internalization.

10.0. Other devices for expressing future reference. Besides the established ways for expressing future (regularly covered in teaching grammars) there are other devices which are often overlooked in teaching.

11.1. One of the characteristics of modal auxiliaries, besides shall and will, is that that they may refer to future time:

(30) I can (may/ must/ ought to) come tomorrow.

(30SC) Ja mogu (smijem/ moram/ trebam) doći sutra.

11.2. We can see a certain amount of structural correspondence between the English modals and their translation equivalents in SC in their occurrence modal + infinitive (v + V), and these SC verbs also point to future time. The temporal reference of these structures seems to be internalized without a conscious effort as if taken for granted.

12.1. There is a group of verbs which when followed by the to-infinitive, can refer to future time:

(31) I expect to get a raise (next week).

(31SC) Očekujem da ću dobiti povišicu (idući tjedan).

(32) I intend to buy a new car (next year).

(32SC) Namjeravam kupiti (da kupim) kola (iduće godine).

Other verbs patterning in this way are: agree, have decided, determine, hope, long, offer, plan, prefer, promise, propose, refuse[7].

12.2. The SC translation equivalents of all these verbs may be construed with the infinitive or da + present of semantically compatible verbs and then may refer to future time e.g.:

slažem se da napišem; odlučio sam preuzeti; odredio sam nabaviti; nadam se završiti; žudim započeti; nudim da sakupim; planiram ispitati; više volim preći; obećajem donijeti; predlažem povisiti; odbijam da podržim.

12.3. In some cases the infinitive and da + present seem to be in free variation (the latter, of course, being more frequent with the Eastern variant), but in some cases (as e.g. nudim da sakupim) the infinitive is only marginally acceptable and the construction da + present seems to be required in both variants.

12.4. It is difficult to see any problems, contrastive or otherwise, for the learner in grasping the temporal reference of these patterns. Mistakes, however, may crop up when the learner generalizes this pattern and uses the infinitive after verbs requiring the -ing form as e.g.:

(33) *I suggest to buy a new car next year.

instead of:

(34) I suggest buying a new car next year.

(34SC) Predlažem da se kupe nova kola.

12.5. Example (34) illustrates another pattern which may refer to future time, namely, suggest buying, and the verbs which can be construed in the same way are: insist on, object to, recommend[8]. Again the SC translation

equivalent is the verb combined with the infinitive or da + prezent.

13.0. Futurity with an array of modal meanings is expressed by: am, is, are (was, were) to + infinitive.

(35) He is to come tomorrow.

(35SC) On treba da dodje sutra.

(36) They are to be married next week.

(36SC) Oni će se vjenčati idući tjedan.

13.1. In this use the verb be patterns like a modal verb (ought to). The meaning of is to in (35) is similar to ought to and in (36) approaches will. Hence the SC translation equivalents vary according to the modal meaning of is, are, am to, from ću, ćeš- future to various "modal" verbs plus infinitive.

14.0. The Shifted Future, also called Future-in-the-Past

This label is traditionally applied to shifted shall and will plus infinitive (i.e. should and would) when the introductory verb is in the past tense, but there is no reason why it should not be applied to other devices for expressing future reference when shifted in the same way, e.g.

(37) He said he was leaving at ten.

(37SC) Rekao je da putuje u deset.

which comes from shifting:

(38) I am leaving at 10.

(38SC) Putujem u deset.

14.1. In most cases the shifting of tenses including future expressions is taught and learned mechanically, which may well be the most useful way. Advanced students, however, ought to know something about the meaning of

the process of shifting which will make it easier for them to grasp certain exceptions to the mechanical rule.

14.2. *The actual future expressions* refer to an action occurring after the moment of speaking and the shifted future expressions show a different relation to the moment of speaking as demonstrated below.

(39) I'll get up late when I have retired.
(39SC) Ustajat ću kasno kad podjem u mirovinu.

is shifted as:

(40) I said I'd get up late when I had retired.
(40SC) Rekao sam da ću kasno ustajati kad podjem u mirovinu.

In (39) the speaker's concern is the present moment and in (40) this concern moves to the past moment (when he actually did the speaking) and his vision is directed forwards a) to the more recent past, b) to the present, c) into the actual future.

(40SC), without any shifting of tenses, may be interpreted as having the same temporal meaning as (40).

14.3. Now, if the speaker's vision is directed to the actual future (the future to the moment of speaking) we may come across unshifted verb forms, e.g.:

(41) I said I'll get up late when I have retired (in a year's time).
(41SC) Rekao sam da ću kasno ustajati kad podjem u mirovinu (za godinu dana)
(42) I said I'll be working late next week.
(42SC) Rekao sam da ću idući tjedan raditi do kasna.

In both (41) and (42) the future expressions refer to the time after the point now, although the speaker's concern is the past moment, the moment he made the original statement.

14.4. The phenomenon of non-shifting is usually taught in connection with the present tense expressing "eternal truths" and the non- shifted future tends to be neglected.

14.5. Pedagogical implications. The shifting of tenses including future expressions is a most important teaching item, which through contrastive interference remains a stumbling block to the learner with SC as his mother tongue for a very long time. But note that shifting of person and sometimes of temporal indications (adverbs, adverbials) occurs also in SC !

15.0. There is another Future-in-the-Past type which is that primarily in its temporal meaning although it need not be introduced with a past tense verb or used in the so called "style indirect libre". It may also be ambiguous especially in writing. The meaning of such construction is again, a continuation of the past into a more recent past, the present, or into future, e.g.

(43) I was reading a paper tomorrow. (but am now not going to)
(43SC) Sutra sam imao čitati referat.

15.1. Without the adverb of time (43) and similar structures may prove ambiguous and are resolved in speech by the fall-rise tune (with the nuclear stress on the auxiliary) which suggest "but..."[9] e.g.

(44) They were taking the children. (but left them)
(44SC) Trebali su voditi djecu. (Bilo je rečeno da će voditi djecu).

The SC translation equivalents of this type of Future-in-the-past is either the past tense of a "modal" verb like imati, trebati + inf. or a "descriptive" construction like the variant of (44SC).

15.2. This type of Future-in-the-past may also be expressed by was, were to + infinitive.

(45) They were to be married next week.

(45SC) Trebali su se vjenčati idući tjedan. (Imali su...)

The translation equivalents are the same as for (44).

NOTES

1. Report on Verb-Form Frequency Count, Hyderabad, 1963, pp. 8-9.
2. Joos, 1964, p. 135.
3. Cattel, 1969, p. 122
4. Palmer, 1965, pp. 95 ff. "Private verbs are those that refer to states or activities that the speaker alone is aware of."
5. Close, 1963, p. 79.
6. This is more obvious in those cases when the translation equivalent of an English modal is followed by the infinitive. This infinitive, however, may be substituted in most cases by da + prezent, especially in the Eastern variant.
7. Close, 1970, p. 49.
8. Close, 1970. p. 49.
9. Palmer, 1965, p. 88.

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ADDITIONAL NOTES ON NOUN PHRASES IN THE FUNCTION OF SUBJECT IN ENGLISH AND SERBO-CROATIAN

1. Endocentric phrases that have a noun as head are exponents not only of the element subject, so that they will be dealt with under several headings in this project. We shall consider only some points of contrastive interest in the structure of E noun phrases and their Serbo-Croatian counterparts.

1. The general formula for denoting the structure of the noun phrase (further in the text NP) is (M)H(Q) (modifier-head-qualifier). Head is the only obligatory element. An unmodified noun in the function of subject in E as a rule corresponds to an unmodified noun in SC and should present the learner with no difficulty.

May is my best friend.	Maja je moja najbolja drugarica.
Iron is a metal.	Gvoždje je metal.
Cats are animals.	Mačke su životinje.

3. Determiners represent the most frequent expansion of the head (at least as far as countable nouns are concerned). We shall consider only one subsystem of determiners: this (these), that (those), my (his, her, its, etc.) and proper names inflected for the genitive case. In present-day English they belong to the same positional class, i.e. one term excludes all the others. Though these terms do not have the same total distribution, there is enough formal evidence to separate this group from other determiners (a, some, any, no, etc.) and treat them as a subclass of determiners.

4. The definite article the will be dealt with by another analyser in this project,[1] so we shall limit ourselves to a few general remarks. Though the

definite article in an E NP does not always have a zero equivalent in a SC NP, systematic formal correspondence (like: the green hat is mine / zeleni šešir je moj) is rare. It is common knowledge that the use of the articles presents one of the greatest difficulties for the SC learner, ∅ in this case being a great source of interference in the schema : $L_T X$ vs $L_S \emptyset$.[2]

5. The demonstratives this/that are opposed to a three-term system in SC (ovaj/taj/onaj). The problems arising from a twoterm system in L_T opposed to a three-term system in L_S have been dealt with in this project under a separate heading.[3] The demonstratives are the only terms in the subclass of determiners we are considering which are in number concord with the noun they modify (this boy/these boys; that boy/those boys). On the other hand their singular forms are not susceptible to the opposition countable/uncountable, a characteristic shared by the other terms of this class (the boy, this boy, my boy, John's boy; the milk, this milk, my milk, John's milk), unlike a, some, any, etc.

6. The possessive determiners distinguish forms for person, number and (in the third person singular) gender, but, like in SC, the choice of person, number and gender forms is dictated by extralingual factors. The possessive determiner in an E NP used in the function of subject has two equivalents in the SC counterparts : the possessive pronoun (moj, a, e, i, e, a; tvoj, a, e, i, e, a, etc.) or the possessive dative.[4]

My father died last year. — Moj otac je umro prošle godine.
Otac mi je umro prošle godine.

Thus SC has two syntactic resources for expressing the same possessive relationship, and the learner should be made aware of this as soon as the

native language is used for purposes of translation or otherwise, since the linguistically unsophisticated learner may not be conscious of this fact. The learner's attention should be drawn to the fact that the variety of surface structure in SC is much greater than in English. This means that the SC speakers has an easier task learning E than vice versa, though SC variants in which word order is far removed from the E equivalent may cause trouble if the learner is faced with a translation test from SC into English.

His birthday is tomorrow.	Njegov rodjendan je sutra.
Tomorrow is his birthday.	Njegov je rodjendan sutra.
	Rodjendan mu je sutra.
	Sutra je njegov rodjendan.
	Sutra mu je rodjendan.

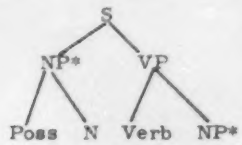
7. With certain lexical sets, such as parts of the body, articles of clothing, kinship terms and some other lexical items (e.g. health, homework, office, class and many others), if the possessive determiner in one of the E NPs in the sentence and the correlated possessor are in certain syntactic relationships, the rules for which we shall state further, the possessive may have zero as equivalent in the SC NP. Before we attempt to formulate any rules we shall adduce a few examples of possessives in E NPs and give their SC equivalents (the examples will be numbered for the sake of easier reference).

(1) John hurt his leg.	(1SC) Džon je povredio ∅ nogu.
(2) Have you brought your homework?	(2SC) Jeste li doneli ∅ domaći zadatak ?
(3) Why did you give Mary those flowers?	(3SC) Zašto si Mariji dao ono cveće ?
Because it's her birthday today.	Jer je danas njen rodjendan. Jer joj je danas rodjendan.

(4) His brother doesn't like him.	(4SC) ∅ Brat ga ne voli.
(5) His health never bothers him.	(5SC) ∅ Zdravlje ga nikad ne brine. ∅ Zdravlje mu nikada ne pričinjava teškoće.
(6) As soon as the woman unveiled her face, her eyes brightened up.	(6SC) Čim žena otkri ∅ lice njene oči zasijaše (oči joj zasijaše).
(7) John came into the room and his leg caught on the carpet.	(7SC) Džon udje u sobu i noga mu zape za ćilim.
(8) John came into the room, his leg caught on the carpet, and he fell down.	(8SC) Džon udje u sobu, noga mu zape za ćilim i on pade.

We shall now try to formulate the rules pertaining to the SC equivalents of E possessive determiners:

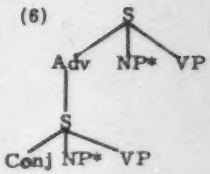
Rule I. If the possessive and the correlated possessor are parts of NPs which are most directly dominated by the same S-node (as illustrated by examples (1), (2), (4) and (5)), then the possessive in an E NP usually has zero equivalent in a SC NP. (The correlated NPs are marked with asterisks in the diagrams.)



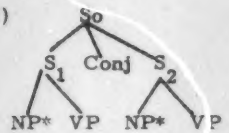
Rule II. If the possessive and the correlated possessor are parts of NPs which are not most directly dominated by the same S-node (as illustrated by examples (3), (6), (7) and (8)), then the E possessive has an equivalent in SC. That happens in complex sentences (6), in separate conjoined sentences (7), (8), and in sentences where one clause of the complex sentence is deleted (as in example (3) the full

version of which is: I gave her flowers, because it's her birthday today.)

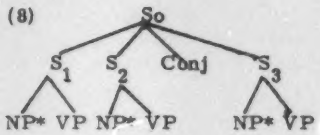
(6)



(7)



(8)



It should be noted that the deletion of the possessive in the SC NP is not determined by context, but by the above-stated rules. In (3), (6), (7) and (8), though the possessive relationship is quite clear from the context, the possessive is not deleted in SC and neither is it in the following examples:

That is Ava Gardner. Her eyes are green, aren't they?	Ono je Ava Gardner. Njene oči su zelene, zar ne? Oči su joj zelene, zar ne?
Why is John walking on crutches?	Zašto Džon ide na štakama?
His leg was injured in a car accident.	Noga mu je povredjena u automobilskoj nesreći.

8. Another point of interference for the SC learner may be the case w... the possessive in the E NP in the function of subject does not have a possessive pronoun as a SC equivalent, i.e. the possessive is not in free variation with the dative of the personal pronoun.

My leg hurts.	*Moja noga boli. Boli me noga.
My head is spinning.	*Moja se glava vrti. Vrti mi se u glavi.
My palm itches.	*Moj dlan svrbi. Svrbi me dlan.

My heart aches when	*Moje srce boli kad pomislim na nju.
I think of her.	Srce me boli kad pomislim ...

The above SC counterparts of the English possessives in the subject NPs are ethical datives and what we might call ethical accusatives. That they are not felt as possessives by the SC speaker is evident from some typical learners' errors such as:

Svrbi me dlan.	*My palm itches me.
Bole me ledja.	? My back hurts me.

As the error is predictable, the learner's attention should be drawn to such structures and they should be taught and drilled as set phrases.

9. In an E NP the demonstrative and the possessive determiners belong to the same positional class in present-day English; phrases such as

- .....deliver this our brother

are archaic. In SC they belong to different positional classes, which may constitute a point of interference for the SC learner.

Ona tvoja slika je juče prodana.	*That your painting was sold yesterday.

It should be pointed out that such structures are rendered into E by using the double genitive.

That painting of yours was sold yesterday.

10. The proper name inflected for the genitive case belongs to the positional class of determiners[5] and has as SC equivalent an adjective derived from a noun by means of the inflectional suffixes -ov, -ev, -in. In SC such adjectives usually follow the demonstratives. The common errors: that John's book, the John's book (constructed on the analogy of the man's book) can be

avoided if it is explicitly made clear that N_{prop} 's belongs to the same positional class as other determiners. Charts can be drawn with three or four columns, the determiners filling the first column (this is recommended for the initial stage of learning; at a more advanced level a column for predeterminers can be added), the second and third being filled by descriptive adjectives and the fourth being reserved for the head (it is better to have two columns reserved for adjectives proper, in order to make it obvious that adjectives, unlike determiners, allow of class recurrence and reduplication).

Determiner	$Adjective_1$	$Adjective_2$	Head Noun
the	old	dilapidated	house
that	old	dilapidated	house
his	old	dilapidated	house
John's	old	dilapidated	house

11. It is worth mentioning that E subject NPs which have a possessive determiner or a proper name inflected for the genitive case can undergo deletion of the head noun under conditions which will be stated further, a deletion not matched in the SC subject NPs.

Yours has been a tragic marriage.	* Tvoj je bio tragičan brak.

If the head noun in a E subject NP which is preceded by a possessive determiner or a N_{prop} 's is identical to the head noun in the Nominal Predicate, it can undergo deletion, the dependent possessive form being replaced by the independent.

Your marriage has been a tragic marriage.	Tvoj brak je bio nesrećan brak.

Yours has been a tragic marriage.	* Tvoj je bio nesrećan brak.
John's mind was a healthy mind.	Džonov duh je bio zdrav duh.
John's was a healthy mind.	* Džonov je bio zdrav duh.

As can be seen from the above examples a SC subject NP does not allow the deletion of the head noun. Under conditions stated above the deletion of the Nominal Predicate head noun is possible both in E and SC and entails the deletion of the indefinite article (if any) in the E NP. In E the noun can also be pronominalized, giving one, in which case the article remains.

John's mind was a healthy mind.	Džonov duh je bio zdrav duh.
John's mind was healthy. a healthy one.	Džonov duh je bio zdrav.

12. The predeterminers half, both, and all will be mentioned, as they are contrastively relevant in the subject NPs. Their common syntactic characteristic is that they can be followed by of, which only apparently turns the rest of the NP into a prepositional phrase, since the head of the NP is in number concord with the finite verb.

Half the students were absent.	Pola studenata je bilo odsutno.[6]
Half of the students were absent.	
All the girls are playing tennis.	Sve djevojke igraju tenis.
All of the girls are playing tennis.	
Both his friends are leaving today.	Oba mu prijatelja danas odlaze.
Both of his friends are leaving today.	

All and both can occur after the head noun (at the beginning of the VP, or after the first auxiliary and negation if any), whereas half cannot. The distribution of SC counterparts is not identical, since svi (sve, sva) and oba (obe) can take various positions in the sentence.

The girls are all playing tennis today.	Devojke danas sve igraju tenis.
His friends both left yesterday.	Prijatelja su mu oba juče otišla.
His friends haven't both left.	Prijatelja mu oba nisu otišla.

13. The order of predeterminers and determiners in an E NP is fixed whereas it is much freer in a SC NP, which may be a source of serious interference.

sve one kuće	all those houses
one sve kuće	*those all houses
pola Džonovih knjiga	half John's books
Džonovih pola knjiga	*John's half books
obe moje knjige	both my books
moje obe knjige	*my both books

The interference may be overcome by explicitly stating the order of elements in an E NP and by using charts and other devices depending on the age of the learner. It goes without saying that appropriate and frequent exercises are indispensible.

14. Numerals have been dealt with in another paper in this project,[7] so we shall only mention certain problems of contrastive interest. In her paper "Numeratives and Quantitatives in English and Serbo-Croatian", Dora Maček states: " f) Difficulties are also to be anticipated in the ordering of

possessives and numerals, where the SC order depends mostly on emphasis, while in E the order possessive-numeral is obligatory, unless the preposition of is introduced; thus:

my two books	or two of my books	*two my books
moje dvije knjige or	dvije od mojih knjiga or	dvije moje knjige " (62-63)

We should like to add that the examples:

My two books did not sell well.	Moje dve knjige se nisu dobro prodavale.

and:

Two of my books did not sell well

are not synonymous, the first implying that I had only two books and the second suggesting that I had more than two books. The preposition od (=of) is introduced in a SC NP only if contrast is intended.

One of his five coats is not new.	Jedan od njegovih pet kaputa nije nov.

If no contrast is intended it should be made clear to the learner that the SC construction:

moje dve knjige

has two interpretations each one of which has a different counterpart in E.

my two books (the set has two members)

two of my books (the set consists of more than two members)

The fact that the order determiner-numeral is fixed in an E NP and is free in a SC NP may result in error.

dve moje knjige	*two my books

15. The numeral one poses special problems when dealt with contrastively. There are two points that the learner should be made aware of in connection

with one. First, if one is found in the position of numerals (i.e. if it follows determiners) its meaning is the only one (jedini).

her one friend njena jedina prijateljica

Second, learners are likely to transfer the SC order.

jedna njena prijateljica * one her friend

It should be made clear that the change of order of elements (i.e. determiner-numeral) does not affect the meaning of the SC NP, whereas in English -one+det+N is ungrammatical and det+one+N is grammatical but is not the meaning equivalent of the SC phrase: det+jedan++N.

16. We should like to mention another point of contrast between the E subject NPs and SC subject NPs. A SC NP can be interrupted by enclitics, which is not the case in E NPs. Difficulties may arise only if a linguistically unsophisticated learner of E is faced with a translation from SC into E, though we have not enough evidence as to the typical error that may arise.

Sva njegova braća su se poženila a on je ostao sa majkom.	All his brothers had got married, but he stayed with his mother.
Sva su mu se braća poženila, ...	

NOTES

1. Colleen Ridjanović, "Definite and Indefinite: Adjectives in Serbo-Croatian vs. articles in English".

2. See: William Nemser - Vladimir Ivir, "Research Guide for Project Workers", A. Reports 1, Institute of Linguistics, Zagreb 1969, pp. 3-8.

3. See: Leonardo Spalatin, "The English demonstratives this, these, that, those and Their Serbo-Croatian Equivalents", A. Reports 2, Institute of Linguistics, Zagreb 1970, pp. 103-119.

4. See: Leonardo Spalatin, "The English Possessive Adjectives my, your, his, her, its, our, their and Their Serbo-Croatian Equivalents," Institute of Linguistics, Zagreb 1970, pp. 94-102.

5. Proper names inflected for the genitive case have never been explicitly stated as belonging to the class of determiners though Seymour Chatman ("Pre-Adjectivals in the English Nominal Phrase", American Speech, 1960, 2, pp. 83-100.) includes John's, Mary's (p. 91) among determiners. But he also includes the nation's (p. 86), which may lead to misunderstanding. In his example:

   just half the nation's million happy baseball fans (p. 86),

   the nation's is a nested phrase just like in:

   all my youngest sister's dresses

   A simple NP has only one centre so that each modifier modifies the head noun or, using the method of IC analysis, every modifier modifies the rest of the phrase. Complex NPs have beside the ultimate centre one or more subsidiary centres, nation and sister being subsidiary centres in the above examples. If a term from the class of determiners is followed by a common noun inflected for the genitive case, the NP is complex, the common noun is the subsidiary centre, and the determiner modifies the common noun forming with it a nested phrase which is embedded in another NP. In the last example quoted my youngest sister is inflected for the genitive case and then embedded in the phrase all dresses.

6. See: introductory part of "Noun Phrases as Subject in E and SC" for concord.

7. Dora Maček, "Numeratives and Quantitatives in English and Serbo-Croatian", A. Reports 2, Institute of Linguistics, Zagreb 1970, pp. 56-76.

Mladen Mihajlović (University of Beograd)

ELLIPTICAL SENTENCES IN ENGLISH AND THEIR SERBO-CROATIAN EQUIVALENTS

1. In the analysis of differences and similarities between elliptical sentences of E and their SC equivalents, the emphasis is on the problems of E syntax.

1.2. The examples for analysis have been taken from written discourse[1] and native informatns. The analysis of sentence intonation patterns is excluded.

1.3. So far only the immediate constituents of E sentences in the favourite form[2] have been established, i.e. sentences composed of the subject and the predicate S NP + VP (exception: imperative sentences). Such sentences are complete and independent of any factors outside them. They are grammatical[3] and distributionally independent.[4]

1.4. E sentences are identified as having elliptical form when either the subject or the predicate or both are deleted. The elliptical sentence forms represent a class of semisentences[5] (derivatively generated strings[6], deviant sentences[7]) formed through deletion rules[8] (or transfer rules[9]). They have different degrees of grammaticalness[10], and may be distributionally independent or dependent.[11]

1.5. The imperative sentence of E in its favourite form is composed of a verb phrase.[12] Consequently, it is elliptical if the verb is deleted from the verb phrase.

1.6. The dichotomy between the favourite sentence form and the elliptical sentence form in E is not a false one. The native speaker of E makes the same

distinction.[13] A set of rules gives some sequences of formatives as being grammatical sentences of E and some sequences as being less grammatical sequences of E.

1.7. The dichotomy between the favourite sentence form and the elliptical sentence form exists in SC, too.

1.8. There are two favourite sentence forms in SC constisting of verb phrases.[14]

$$(Nn) \quad \begin{matrix} V\ (Na\ \ Ng\ \ Nd\ \ Ni) \\ copV\ (Nn, An) + (Nd\ \ Ni) \end{matrix} \quad (D)$$

1. Spavaju
2. Radnici su

The subject is optional in the favourite sentence form, so the sentence composed of the subject and the predicate can be derived from the favourite sentence.

1. Oni spavaju
2. Oni su radnici

If the verb is deleted from the favourite sentence form such a sentence is called elliptical.

1. Nije odgovorila ništa. Tihi jecaji. (Stevanović, 97).
2. Sve je besmisleno. I politika, i ideje, i principi, i kultura i ugled, i karijera (Stevanović, 97).
3. Požar! Razbojnici! (Stevanović, 95).[15]

1.9. This analysis does not account for "ready-made sentences" (proverbs, aphoristic sentences, closed constructions)[16] in E. Such utterances are distributionally independent, but "unanalysable with reference to the grammatical structure of contemporary English".[17] (Ouch! First come, first served!)

1.10. As it was not possible to find principles for the construction of all elliptical sentence forms in E and to describe all their common constituents, the following comparison of elliptical sentences in E with their equivalent sentences in SC cannot cover all their possible variants.

1.11. The elliptical sentences of E will be classified according to the following criteria:

a) what part of the sentence is deleted

b) whether it is distributionally independent or dependent

c) if it is distributionally dependent its subclassification will depend upon its relation to adjacent sentences: syntactic relation or contextual.

1.12. SC equivalents of elliptical sentences in E will be given to establish the differences and similarities as well as learning problems.

2. Subjectless Elliptical Sentences of E

2.1. Distributionally independent subjectless sentences.

2.1.1 The structure of the subjectless sentence identifies the deleted subject.

1. (I) Am baffled by reply. (Churchill, III, 64)
2. (I) Am concerned of check developing at Varen. (Churchill, III, 64)

The deleted subject is identified through its congruence with the auxiliary verb. The SC equivalents of these sentences are in the favourite form.

1. Ne razumem odgovor. (Ili, zbunjen sam odgovorom).
2. Zabrinut sam zbog zastoja koji se razvija kod Varena.

The Serbocroatian equivalent of each sentence has, if translated into E., two variants, both distributionally independent, but not equally grammatical.

Am baffled by reply.
(elliptical form)

I am baffled by the reply.
(favourite form)

E ← SC → E

Ne razumem odgovor.
(favourite form)

The selection of the E variant is determined by semantic, stylistic and grammatical factors.

2.1.1 The deleted subject may be identified through the form of a possesive adjective.

1. Never had a better bathe in my life. (Poutsma, 999)
2. Had your lunch yet ?
3. Doing my best!

The SC equivalents are in the favourite form.

1. Nikada se u životu nisam bolje okupao.
2. Da li si već ručao?
3. Trudim se.

There are two E equivalents of each sentence as in 2.1.1.

2.1.3 The deleted subject may be identified through a reflexive pronoun.

1. Can't forgive myself for saying that.
2. Better behave himself!

The SC equivalents are in the favourite form.

1. Ne mogu sebi oprostiti što sam to rekao.
2. Neka pazi kako se ponaša.

There are two E equivalents of each sentence as in 2.1.1.

2.1.4 The structure of the sentence identifies the deleted empty subject (it) and the deleted copula (is).

1. Needless to say. I'll fire Graf the minute he comes in (Lewis, 237).
2. Better be alone than in bad company. (Poutsma, 1001).

The sentences are translated into the SC favourite sentence form.

1. Ne moram ni reći ... etc.
2. Bolje (je) biti sam nego u rdjavom društvu.

There are two equivalents in E for each of these sentences as in 2.1.1.

2.1.5 The structure of the following negative sentences identifies the deleted empty subject and the deleted copula (There is/are).

1. No use crying over that. (Conrad, 172)
2. No partner for this one. No more hope of getting one now. (Lewis, 267).
3. Not a drop of water in the glass.(Salinger, 37).

The first two sentences are translated into the SC favourite form.

1. Nema koristi plakati zbog toga.
2. Nema ortaka za njega. Sada više nema nade da ga nadje.

There are two equivalents for each of these sentences in E as in 2.1.1.

The third sentence has two equivalents in SC.

1. Nema ni kapi vode u čaši.
2. Ni kapi vode u čaši.

The first one is in the favourite form and the second one in the elliptical.

Each of these sentences may have two variants in E. The elliptical sentence types of E in 2.1.1. - 2.1.5 are the most frequent distributionally independent sentences in the elliptical form and have a high degree of grammaticalness. They are also classified as variants.[18]

2.2. Some authors classify the following subjectless sentences of E as distributionally independent.[19]

1. Hope to see you again. (Curme, 18)
2. Don't believe. (Salinger, 83)
3. Beg your pardon. (Jespersen, VII. 3. 3_3)
4. Got a lamp in the boat? (Conrad, 40)
5. Show grampa your paintings? (Bowen, 54)
6. Want some help? (Bowen, 54)
7. Sorry! (Jespersen VII, 3. 3_3)
8. See you later (Jespersen, 3. 3_3)

9. Be seeing you. (Jespersen 3.3_3)
10. Why have a scene about it? (Bowen, 55)
11. Why wear those at all? (Bowen, 55)
12. Why make a deal with her? (Bowen, 55)

Their explanation is not acceptable because the deleted subject cannot be identified without the context. There are several possible subjects in each sentence if the context does not point to the deleted subjects.

1. (I, we, etc.) hope to see you again.
6. (Do you, do they, etc.) Want some help?
10. Why (should we, you, etc) have a scene about it?

2.3. Pedagogical implications.

2.3.1 The sentences of E in 2.1 deviate from the underlying language pattern and may be considered as a problem of variant usage. Robert Lado gives the following definition of second-langu , learning: "Learning a second language is defined as acquiring the ability to use its structure within a gneral vocabulary under essentially the conditions of normal communication among native speakers at conversational speed".[20]

As the sentences of E described in 2.1 deviate from the basic structure, although in a regular way, the problem remains whether they should be taught at all. Perhaps they should be explained to the advanced student of E as possible variants of wellformed sentences of E.

3. Distributionally dependent subjectless sentences of E

3.1 The syntactic relation to the preceding sentence identifies the deleted subject.

1. I began playing around with 'em. Made money.
(Priestley, 31)

2. You have no head. Never had, as far as I can remember, in the old days, in Maccassar. (Conrad, 62)

3. She held me then. Held me like a nightmare that is terrible and sweet (Conrad, 270).

4. Very often she would disappear, then we all had to turn out and hunt for her because father would worry till she was brought back. Found her in all kinds of places. (Conrad, 365).

5. But they made a mistake in extending too much during the war. Put too much capital in the new machine shops. (Cary, 120)

The elliptical sentences should be translated into the SC favourite form:

1. Made money.
   Zaradjivao sam novac.

2. Never had, as far as I can remember, in the old days, in Maccassar.
   Nikada nije ni imao, nekada u Makasaru, koliko se sećam.

3. Held me like a nightmare that is terrible and sweet.
   (Držala me je, kao strašna i prijatna noćna mora.)

4. Found her all kinds of places.
   Nalazili smo je na raznim mestima.

5. Put too much capital in the new machine shops.
   Investirali smo suviše kapitala u novu radionicu.

The SC equivalents, if translated into E, should be in the favourite form.

3.1.1 The syntactic relation to the preceding sentence identifies the deleted subject and the auxiliary verb.

1. Now, I am afraid of you. Afraid of your fear. (Conrad, 156)

2. And she would win by her mulish game. And then creep back to me and call herself a beast. (Cary, 70).

3. I stated if they wanted to leave the job, they could do so. And go over to Brightman at Lilmouth. (Cary, 142).

The elliptical sentences should be translated into the SC favourite form:

1. Afraid of your fear.
   Bojim se tvoga straha.

2. And then creep back to me and call herself a beast.
   Zatim bi se dofunjala nazad i nazvala sebe životinjom.

3. And go over to Brightman at Lilmouth.
Mogli su da odu do Brajtmena u Lilmutu.

The SC equivalents, if translated into E, should be in the favourite form.

3.1.2 The syntactic relation to the preceding sentence identifies one of the following deleted subjects: here, this, that, it and the copula.

1. It is my beloved church. My beloved church.
(Whiting, 183).
2. Here is the proud expression of British motoring design.
A car that is absolutely new in conception. (Life, 5).
3. This is a civilized man's house. A white man's. (Conrad, 17).
4. That's something I didn't know. Pain, oblivion, reason
(Whiting, 146).

The elliptical sentences should be translated into the SC elliptical form:

1. My beloved church.
Moja voljena crkva.
2. A car that is absolutely new in conception.
Kola potpuno nova po koncepciji.
3. A white man's.
Belog čoveka.
4. Pain, oblivion, reason.
Bol, zaborav, razum.

The SC equivalents, if translated into E, should be in the elliptical form.

3.1.3 The syntactic relation to the preceding sentence identifies the elliptical sentence as the object of the preceding sentence. The subject and a part of the predicate are contained in the adjacent sentence.

1. But you must not try to give it to me. Or to most of us
(Priestley, 22).
2. That guy had just about everything. Sinus trouble, pimples, lousy teeth, crumby fingernails. (Salinger, 51).
3. She couldn't understand she was up against something bigger than either of us or anyone's happiness. The truth (Cary, 221)
4. It was hard to picture. Not so much my mother, but those other two. (Salinger, 148).

The elliptical sentences should be translated into the SC elliptical form.

1. Or to most of us.
   Ili većini od nas.
2. Sinus trouble, pimples, lousy teeth, crumby fingernails.
   Oholele sinuse, bubuljice, kvarne zube, trošne nokte.
3. The truth.
   Istinu.
4. Not so much my mother, but those other two.
   Ne toliko moju majku, nego ono drugo dvoje.

The SC equivalents, if translated into E, should be in the elliptical form.

3.1.4 The syntactic relation to the preceding sentence identifies the elliptical sentence as the objective complement of the preceding sentence. The subject and a part of the predicate are contained in the adjacent sentence.

1. I started imitating one of those guys in the movies.
   In one of those musicals. (Salinger, 37).
2. They have gone back for her trunk. Quite a large one.
   (Steinbeck, 176).
3. I hadn't seen Winfield before, but I know the name.
   Chairman of Winfield's chemicals. (Cary, 89)

The elliptical sentences should be translated into the SC elliptical form:

1. In one of those musicals.
   U jednoj od onih muzičkih revija.
2. Quite a large one.
   Prilično veliki.
3. Chairman of Winfield's chemicals.
   Predsednik Vinfildove kompanije.

The SC equivalents, if translated into E, should be in the elliptical form.

3.1.5 The syntactic relation to the preceding sentence identifies the elliptical sentence as an adverbial phrase. The subject and a part of the predicate are contained in the adjacent sentence.

Adverbial phrase of time:

1. It was a beautiful morning. A day or two later. (Whiting, 166).
2. And then you have got to start going there. But immediately. (Salinger, 245).
3. They had all been talking about me. Since yesterday afternoon at least (Cary, 43).

The elliptical sentences should be translated into the SC elliptical form:

1. A day or two later.
   Dan ili dva kasnije.
2. But immediately.
   Ali smesta.
3. Since yesterday afternoon at least.
   Barem od juče popodne.

The SC equivalents, if translated into E, should be in the elliptical form.

Adverbial phrase of manner:

1. They just knocked again, though. Louder. (Saling,, 132)
2. A decision has been reached. Unanimously. (Whiting, 191)

The elliptical sentences should be translated into the elliptical form.

1. Louder.
   Glasnije.
2. Unanimously.
   Jednoglasno.

The SC equivalents, if translated into E, should be in the elliptical form.

Adverbial phrase of place:

1. Then came help. From all parts of world (Life, 26)
2. There was the appalling Goufridy case. In Marseilles twenty years ago. (Whiting, 171)
3. I want your signature. There. (Whiting, 195)

The elliptical sentences should be translated into the SC elliptical form.

1. From all parts of the world.
   Sa svih strana sveta.

2. In Marseilles twenty years ago.
   U Marselju pre dvadeset godina.

3. There.
   Tamo.

The SC equivalents, if translated into E, should be in the elliptical form.

3.1.6 The syntactic relation to the preceding sentence identifies the elliptical sentence as a clause. The subject and a part of the predicate are contained in the adjacent sentence.

1. I thought one young woman would scratch my face. Because her husband being out of work for year and her roof leaking (Cary, 117).

2. Just five years more then you will be out where the free sun and the air can shine on you without any man with a shotgun shadow to cut it. Because you will be free. (Faulkner, 85).

3. He would give her money. If he had heard. (Steinbeck, 132)

4. You've all that to give. If they'll let you. (Priestley, 88).

5. I came home and found the girl going with another chap. Who hadn't volunteered for anything and not likely (Cary, 80)

The elliptical sentences should be translated into the SC elliptical form.

1. Because her husband being out of work for a year and her roof leaking.

   Zato što joj muž već godinu dana nije zaposlen i što joj krov prokišnjava.

2. Because you will be free.
   Zato što ćeš biti slobodan.

3. If he had heard.
   Da je čuo.

4. If they'll let you.
   Ako ti dozvole.

5. Who hadn't volunteered for anything and not likely.
   Koji se nije ni zašta dobrovoljno javljao niti će to verovatno ubuduće činiti.

The SC equivalents, if translated into E. should be in the elliptical form.

3.1.7 There are some marginal cases which cannot be explained through the syntactic relation between the distributionally dependent elliptical sentence and the sentence in the favourite form. The most frequent examples are answers to questions. Each question contains some predictability[21], but it is almost impossible to identify the nature of that predictability as only syntactic or as only contextual.

1. Is it all over mother? Soon. (Priestley, 3)
2. Is he among you? Incessantly. (Whiting, 133)
3. Will you take this chair? As you please. (Zandvoort, 667).
4. What did he ask you? Whether I was engaged. (Zandvoort, 668)
5. You are in danger? Of death? (Whiting, 159)
6. You don't seem amused? Amused? (Whiting, 174)
7. What is this all about? About Dad staying in there. (Priestley, 70).
8. What were they? My wife and dinner (Whiting, 125)

The elliptical sentences of E should be translated into the SC elliptical form.

1. Soon.
   Uskoro.
2. Incessantly.
   Neprekidno.
3. As you please.
   Kako želite.
4. Whether I was engaged.
   Da li sam veren.
5. Of death?
   Smrtnoj?
6. Amused?
   Zabavljen?
7. About Dad staying in there.
   O tatinom boravku ovde.
8. My wife and dinner.
   Moja supruga i ručak.

The SC equivalents, if translated into E, should be in the elliptical form.

3.2. Subjectless elliptical sentences of E in 3. 1 and 3.1.1 containing finite verb forms have SC equivalents in the favourite sentence forms. Elliptical sentences in 3.1.2 - 3.1. 7 not containing finite verb forms have SC equivalents in the elliptical forms.

3.3. Pedagogical implications.

All distributionally dependent subjectless sentences in E "deviate form the syntactic regularities of the language in irregular ways".[22] Therefore they should not be taught.

4. Distributionally dependent predicateless sentences in E.

4.1. The syntactic relation to the preceding sentence identifies the deleted predicate.

1. First the maid answered. Then the father. (Saling.138)
2. Their bumpy chests are always showing. And their legs. (Salinger, 245)
3. A dropped handkerchief, a scribbled note, a piece of gossip. Any of these can bring hope (Whiting, 159).
4. Some men have them. The priest Grandier, for example. (Whiting, 174)
5. And the church part of it has helped a lot. That and the children. (Priestley, 21)
6. Nothing is ever lost. Nothing. Nothing. (Faulkner, 218)

The elliptical sentences should be translated into the SC elliptical form.

1. Then the father.
   Zatim otac.
2. And their legs.
   I njihove noge.
3. A dropped handkerchief, a scribbled note, a piece of gossip.
   Ispuštena maramica, nažvrljena poruka, malo ogovaranja.

4. The priest Grandier, for example.
   Svećtenik Grandier, na primer.

5. That and the children.
   To i deca.

6. Nothing. Nothing.
   Ništa. Ništa.

The SC equivalents, if translated into E, should be in the elliptical form.

4.2. The predictability of some questions[23] is expressed through various types of short answers (mostly answers containing "Yes" or "No").

1. "Do you really think he used to live here?" - "Yes, I do". (Scheurweghs, 349)
2. "I wouldn't like to be cremated", she said. - "You'd prefer worms?" -"Yes, I would." (Scheurweghs, 349)
3. "Do you like fish?" - "No, I don't" (Scheurweghs, 349)
4. "You make me feel like a child". - "Well, aren't you?" "No, I'm not." Scheurweghs, 349)

Their SC equivalents may be either in elliptical or favourite form.

4.2. Pedagogical implications.

Each distributionally dependent predicateless sentence in 4.1. deviates from the well-formed sentence. Therefore, it should not be taught at all.

Distributionally dependent predicateless sentences in 4.2. deviate from the well-formed sentences in a regular way; therefore they should be taught to students.

5. Contextually dependent elliptical sentences.

5.1. The contextual relation to the surrounding sentences clarifies the meaning of the elliptical sentence. What part of the elliptical sentence is deleted cannot be established.

1. She is very ignorant about such things. Young girls, you know, dear me. Dancing, music and laughter. Finer things can go hang. (Whiting, 135)
2. Then the big bus moves through the narrow streets of the little ancient town and rolls into the pleasant green country. Fields of wheat with hedgerows between. (Steinbeck, 23).
3. Finaly Old Luce showed up. Old Luce. What a guy. (Salinger, 185)
4. The sound has been going on all evening and it goes on for another hour. Hundreds of Lancasters with hundreds of tons of bombs (Steinbeck, 32).
5. Whoever waited on him must have gone off to the tube station. The solitude of old age. (Passos, 49)

6. Distributionally dependent elliptical imperative sentences.

6.1. There are no distributionally independent elliptical imperative sentences. The dependent elliptical imperative sentences can be identified only through their syntactic or contextual relation to the adjacent sentences.

1. The order was given. "To the garden". (Keller, 29)
2. "In. in. in !" He shouted and cursed them for their delay. (Keller, 28).
3. The dog was silenced with a, "Down Pilot!" (Keller, 28)
4. "Hands off!"cried Silver. (Keller. 29)

The elliptical sentences should be translated into the SC elliptical form.

1. To the garden!
   U baštu.
2. In. in. in!
   Unutra, unutra, unutra!
3. Down Pilot!
   Pilot!
4. Hands off!
   Dalje ruke.

The SC equivalents, if translated into E. should have elliptical forms.

CONCLUSION

1. Sentences in E are identified as elliptical if the subject or the predicate or both are deleted from the favourite sentence form.

2. Sentences in SC are identified as elliptical if the finite verb is deleted from the favourite sentence forms.

3. Distributionally independent elliptical sentences in E are usually translated into the SC favourite forms.

4. Each distributionally dependent sentence of E containing a finite verb should be translated into the SC favourite sentence forms.

5. Each distributionally dependent sentence of E not containing a finite verb should be translated into the SC elliptical sentence form.

6. Pedagogical implications.
   Distributionally independent elliptical sentences of E should be taught to the advanced student.
   Only distributionally dependent elliptical sentences of E in 4.2. should be taught to students.
   Other distributionally dependent elliptical sentences of E should not be taught.

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2. Cf. Bloomfield, Leonard, Language, New York 1933. p. 17. Hockett, Charles, A Course in Modern Linguistics, New York, p. 20.

3. If the grammar of E is understood as a formal system whose rules generate only grammatical sentences. Cf. Noam Chomsky, Syntactic Structures, The Hague. 1964.

4. Lyons, John, Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics, Cambridge 1969, p. 173.

5. Katz, Jerrold, Semi-Sentences, in The Structure of Language, New Jersey 1964.

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7. Ziff, Paul, On Understanding "Understanding Utterances". In Fodor and Katz pp. 390-399.

8. Butters, Ronald, On the Interpretation of "deviant utterances", J. L. 6, pp. 105-110. 1970, Ziff, p. 398, Lyons, 177.

9. Katz, p. 411

10. "The degree of grammaticalness is a measure of the remoteness of an utterance from the generated set of perfectly well formed sentences, and the common representing category sequence will indicate in what aspects the utterance in question is deviant." Noam Chomsky, Degrees of Grammaticalness, p. 387 in Fodor and Katz.

11. Lyons, 177.

12. Bloomfield, 17.

13. "Statistical data show the speaker's usage of E sentences in the favourite form and in the minor form". A count of the sentences and fragments in the corpus shows that there is a total of 4, 245 sentences and fragments. The number of minor sentences, therefore, totaling 1, 410, constitutes exactly one third of all sentences in the corpus.
Bowman, Elizabeth, The Minor and Fragmentary Sentences of a Corpus of Spoken English, 1966, p. 37. The results confirm the speakers' preference in selecting the favourite sentence form having the highest degree of grammaticalness.

14. Bidwell, Charles, Serbo-Croatian Syntax, Language, Vol. 41, 1965, p. 241.
Nn - noun in nominative case
Ng - noun in genitive case
Nd - noun in dative - locative case
Na - noun in accusative case
Ni - noun in instrumental case
An - adjective in nominative case
/ / - optional elements
⌣ - elements of which one or more may occur are linked by ⌣ .

15. Stevanović, Mihajlo, Savremeni Srpsko-hrvatski jezik, II sintaksa, Beograd, 1969.

16. Lyons, p. 177.
Hall, Robert, Introductory Linguistics, Philadelphia, 1964, p. 196.

17. Lyons, p. 177.

18. "Variants are utterances that deviate from the syntactic regularities of the language in some regular way." Ziff, p. 396.

19. Lyons, 177.
Bowman, pp 50-62.

20. Lado, Robert, Language Teaching, New York 1953, p. 36

21. See 4.2.

22. "The class of inventions" Ziff, 397

23. See 3.1.7.

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THE ENGLISH PRETERIT TENSE AND ITS SERBO-CROATIAN EQUIVALENTS

1. TEMPORAL USE

Simple Preterit

1.1. The Preterit is used to locate a verb action in the primary past:

(1) I bought this bronze when I was in Naples

The simple Preterit is neutral as to the completion or duration of the action located in the primary past.

1.2. The secondary past is expressed by the Past Perfect:

(2) It was funny I had never noticed it

Both E tenses have as their most frequent SC equivalent the Perfekt with approximately the same probability value (.7). It is obvious that the Perfekt is of little value in itself to the speaker of SC as a possible signal for the selection of the correct past tense in E. The Preterit, on the other hand, is more frequent than the Past Perfect, so that, in spite of the same translation probability, the SC Perfekt will more frequently translate the E Preterit than the Past Perfect.

1.3. Follows a list of the most frequent SC equivalents of the Preterit. The equivalents are arranged in descending order of probability.

1.4. Perfekt

1.4.1. The most frequent SC equivalent of the temporal Preterit is the Perfekt. This tense, when combined with adverbials clearly standing for the primary past period, is a fairly reliable signal for the occurrence of the Preterit in E. The most frequent past-time adverbials are "onda" (then), "prije" + noun

indicating time (noun + ago), "taj" + noun indicating time (that + noun), "jučer" (yesterday), "jednom" (once), "sinoć" (last night), "zatim" (then), "neko veče" (the other night), "prošli put" (last time), "lani" (last year), and the like:

(3) I thought of it yesterday when I was visiting her : Toga sam se sjetila jučer, kad sam je posjetila

(4) The sergeant handed them to me half an hour ago : Dao mi ih je naredník prije pola sata.

1.4.2. In SC object clauses with a past-time verb form in the main clause, the Perfekt of perfective verbs is used for the time-relation which with imperfective verbs is expressed by the Prezent. This perfective Perfekt can also signal the E Past Perfect:

(5) I didn't feel I could question her about what happened to him at the end: Osjetio sam da je ne bih mogao pitati što se na kraju s njim desilo

(5a) Cf. I knew that he had come : Znao sam da je došao

1.4.3. In object clauses with a non-past verb form in the main clause, the Perfekt of a perfective or imperfective verb is the normal equivalent of the E Preterit:

(6) Do you know why I was staring at you? : Znate li zašto sam vas gledao?

(7) Do you know why I came? : Znate li zašto sam došao?

1.5. Prezent

1.5.1. The adverbials "nowadays", "today", "now" and the like are frequently used for simultaneity rather than for the present time. The SC equivalents of these adverbials ("dandanas," "danas", "sada") frequently take the Prezent, even in a past-time context:

(8) It took longer for the Colonel to recover nowadays: Dandanas treba pukovniku dulje da se oporavi

(9) Buggins was in power in many places today: Buggins je danas na snazi na mnogo mjesta

(10) It was a world which now had no time for gentlemen and gentlemen had a little time for the world they were living in : Ovo je svijet koji sada nema vremena za džentlmene, a džentlmeni imaju malo vremena za svijet u kojem sada žive

A past-time tense is also possible:

(11) He now confronted Dixon near the porter's lodge : On sad stajaše pred Dixonom pokraj vratarnice

1.5.2. Also without these adverbials, the Present is very frequent, particularly the Prezent of perfective verbs (Narrative Prezent). This Prezent can be substituted by the Perfekt (or, less frequently, by the Aorist or the Imperfekt). It is used mostly if the past is indicated contextually; if it is signaled by an explicitly past-time adverbial ("jučer," "pred tjedan dana," "lani," etc.) The Prezent is less likely:

(12) The boy indicated a tall dingy house : Dječak pokaže visoku prljavu zgradu

(12a) Yesterday the boy indicated a tall dingy house : Jučer je dječak pokazao (?pokaže) visoku prljavu zgradu

1.5.3. The Prezent of imperfective verbs is the most common equivalent of the E Preterit in object clauses (mostly in indirect or represented speech) with a past-time verb form in the main clause:

(13) He said that he hated me : Rekao je da me mrzi

(14) John believed that nothing could be done. The Colonel hated him and nobody could persuade him to change his attitude : Ivan je bio uvjeren da se ništa ne može učiniti. Pukovnik ga mrzi i nitko ga ne može nagovoriti da promijeni svoj stav

1.5.4. In thise cases the SC Prezent, like the E modal Preterit, does not refer to the present time - or to the past time as the Narrative Prezent does - but to the same time period as the introductory past-time transitive verb.

Some more examples:

(15) Then I knew it was all right between us : Tada sam znala da je medju nama sve u redu

(16) No other professor in Great Britain, he thought, set such store by being called Professor : Pomisli kako nijedan drugi profesor u Velikoj Britaniji ne drži toliko do toga da ga zovu profesorom

(17) He comforted himself for having said this by the thought that at least he knew it didn't mean anything (where the clause "that at least he knew it didn't mean anything" is the object of the verbal noun "thought") : On se utješio što je to rekao pomislivši (the participle "pomislivši" translating the E verbal noun "thought") da bar on zna kako to ništa ne znači

(18) Satisfaction was when he felt that failure did not matter anway : Zadovoljstvo bi nadošlo kad bi osjećao da neuspjeh ipak ništa ne znači

1.5.5. With perfective verbs, the Perfekt occurs in this environment. Compare:

(19) Pitao sam ga što radi : I asked him what he was doing

(19a) Pitao sam ga što je uradio : I asked him what he had done

1.5.6. The Prezent for the Preterit is quite common in expressions which come close to proverbs with all-time import:

(20) What convinced in January wouldn't necessarily convince in August : Što te osvjedočuje u siječnju, ne će te nužno osvjedočiti u kolovozu

(21) Woman complicated things : Žena zamršuje stvari

(22) You took what you could get : Uzmeš što možeš dobiti

The above sentences were probably not meant to have any proverbial meaning in the original, but the translator's use of the Prezent, coupled with the lexical probability of the lexical items involved, makes them definitely sound like proverbial expressions in the SC translation.

1.5.7. The Prezent is the only possible equivalent of the Preterit following the permissive with "let":

(23) Let the English think what they wished : Neka Englezi misle kako hoće

1.5.8. The Prezent is obligatory in represented questions as there is no tense-shifting in indirect speech in SC (with the exception of the cases mentioned in 1.5.3.):

Where was Welch? : Gdje je Welch?

1.6. Prezent/Aorist

1.6.1. A number of SC verbs have homographic forms for the third person singular of the Prezent and the Aorist. For numerous speakers these forms are also homophonous. The Prezent/Aorist form can be substituted by the Perfekt without any appreciable change of meaning This use closely resembles the Narrative Prezent:

(24) Sturge then handed me the cheque for the full amount : Sturge mi tada pruži (or with the Perfekt: "pružio je") ček za puni iznos.

1.8. Imperfekt and Aorist

1.8.1. In addition to the Perfekt, two other tenses used for the primary past occur as equivalents of the E temporal Preterit. They are much less frequent than the Perfekt, and their use often has some stylistic significance:

1.8.2. Aorist

(25) I took out that sheet of paper Isabel had given me : Izvadih (or with the Perfekt: "izvadio sam") onaj papir što mi ga je dala Izabela

1.8.3. Imperfekt

(26) The other hands pointed to five past nine: Ostale dvije kazaljke pokazivahu (or with the Perfekt: "pokazivale su") da je devet sati i pet minuta.

1.9. Kondicional

1.9.1. The Kondicional is occasionally used for a repeated past-time action:

(27) When they met they never had time to talk as they used

to talk: Kad bi se sastali, nikad ne bi imali vremena ...

1.9.2. This Kondicional is frequent with adverbials indicating repeated occurrence, such as "ponekad" (sometimes), "katkada" (sometimes), "od vremena do vremena" (from time to time), "kad god" (whenever, each time), and the like:

(28) Sometimes a bowl shone deep blue; then became livid : Ponekad bi neka zdjela zasjala u dubokoj modrini, koja bi se načas pretvorila u olovno plavetnilo.

(29) Every time she mentioned Snow's she said "we" with faint selfconsciousness : Kad bi god spomenula Snow, govorila je u množini s izvjesnom nelagodnošću.

Continuous Preterit

2.1. The continuous Preterit indicates incompletion of a verb action:

(30) When he came I was writing a letter.

2.2. In SC incompletion is expressed by the imperfective aspect; therefore, no matter what SC tense is used as the equivalent of the E continuous Preterit, the continuous element will always find its equivalent in the SC imperfective aspect:

(30a) Kad je ušao, ja sam pisao.

2.3. The continuous Preterit is used when it is desired explicitly to stress the duration of an action:

(31) "He was walking to the station" as against (32) "He walked to the station".

2.4. The consistency of the SC aspectual equivalence of the continuous element in E can occasionally be utilized as a signal for the use of the continuous Present:

(33) When I saw him he was running away: Kad sam ga ugledao, bježao je

(34) When I saw him, he ran away : Kad sam ga ugledao, pobjegao je.

2.5. The incompletion of the action expressed by the continuous Preterit results in overlapping if more than one action is involved, the incompleted action sharing some space of time with the action expressed by the simple Preterit. When the overlap is absent, the simple Preterit is used:

(35) As the clock struck, he died.

The lack of overlap is reflected in the use of the perfective aspect in SC:

(35a) Kad je sat otkucao, on je umro.

2.6. The continuous Preterit is used as a frame action round a point-time action, which is again a consequence of the underlying meaning of incompletion:

(36) He was sitting in a café when I was him.

2.7. Aside from the aspectual element (which excludes the Aorist as a possible equivalent as well as the perfective forms of other possible equivalents), the same imperfective SC tenses occurring as equivalents of the simple Preterit are used also as equivalents of the continuous Preterit:

(37) He knew where he was going : Znao je kamo ide.

(38) He was losing his boyish look, Eleanor thought : Gubi svoj dječački izgled, pomislila je Eleanor.

(39) It was as if she were asking me for protection : Činilo se kao da od mene traži (je tražila) zaštitu (see 4. MODAL USE).

(40) He was sitting in a café when I saw him : Sjedio je (Sjedjaše) u kavani kad sam ga ugledao.

3. FUTURE IN THE PAST

3.1. This Preterit form is used for the back-shifted future no matter what form it takes:

(41) I will come tomorrow ⟶ He said that he would come the next day : Rekao je da će doći sutra.

(42) Are you returning to Uxbridge? ⟶ I asked him if he was returning to Uxbridge : Pitao sam ga da li se vraća u Uxbridge.

(43) Both officers drank all night and they will feel ill and irritable when he wakes them ⟶ Both officers had drunk all night and they would feel ill and irritable when he woke them : Oba su oficira pila cijelu noć, pa će se osjećati bolesnim i razdraženim kad ih probudi (bude probudio).

(44) The train leaves tomorrow ⟶ I thought that the train left the next day : Mislio sam da vlak odlazi slijedećeg dana.

3.2. The SC equivalents of the future in the past are the same as those occurring as equivalents of expressions of true futurity (see D. Kalogjera, "Modals" and L. Spalatin "Present").

4. MODAL USE

4.1. This Preterit form presents a verb action as imagined or not fulfilled. The time of the action thus presented is the same as the time of the verb in the main clause or the time the speaker is referring to. Thus, the modal Preterit is in the present time in:

(45) I don't know. I wish I did

(46) He acts as if he knew English perfectly

(47) If I had money I'd buy a house

and in the past time in:

(48) He said with relief as though that settled matters, " ....

4.2. The modal Preterit for simultaneity is found after

(a) I'd rather, I'd sooner, I'd better, I'd just as soon, and similar:

(49) I'd rather you went now

(b) It is (high) time:

(50) It is high time that the people born and brought up in the suburbs of Britain found a spokesman.

4.3. In this use, the verb "to be" can employ the form were in all persons:

(51) I feel as though I were admitting some infection to my room

(52) It is as if she were still alive.

4.4. The SC Prezent translates the imaginative Preterit when the verb of the main clause is non-past (Prezent or Kondicional I). The unfulfilment or imaginativeness is signaled by the connectors "da," "kao da" and the like:

(53) You use the word as though it were an insult : Ti upotrebljavaš tu riječ kao da je uvreda

(54) "If you weren't so young," she said, "I'd call the police": "Da niste tako mladi," reče, "pozvala bih policiju"

(55) It's time we had a new man : Vrijeme je da dobijemo novog čovjeka (no signal of modality in SC).

4.5. With a past-time verb form in the main clause, the modal Preterit is translated either by the Prezent or the Perfekt:

(56) He laughed again as though it were all : On se ponovno nasmije kao da je to sve

(57) Everything seemed intensely real, as if I were watching myself take part in a documentary film : Sve je izgledalo tako neumoljivo stvarno kao da sam promatrao samoga sebe kako sudjelujem u nekom dokumentarnom filmu.

4.6. PHRASES:

4.6.1. The phrase "as it were" is variously translated into SC, one of the possibilities being "tako reći":

St. Gregory the Great stood to the west to complete the symbol, as it were, of the coming of the faith to England : Sv. Grgur Veliki stajao je zapadno da tako reći upotpuni simbol dolaska vjere u Englesku

4.6.2. The Preterit form of either "have" or "will" is found in "I'd better," "I'd rather," "I'd sooner," "I'd just as soon," and similar, which are best taught as phrases illustrated by numerous examples as there is, in most cases, no satisfactory SC equivalent.

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THE ENGLISH PAST PERFECT TENSE AND ITS SERBO-CROATIAN EQUIVALENTS

We propose to distinguish the following uses of the Past Perfect Tense:

I SIMPLE PAST PERFECT

a. Past Perfect for secondary past

a.a. in main clauses where its use depends on the past-time context

a.b. in dependent clauses where its use depends on a past-time verb form in the main clause

b. Past Perfect for primary past (used to express unreal [rejected] conditions)

c. backshifted phrase "have + past participle" for "will + have + past participle" after temporal connectors

II CONTINUOUS PAST PERFECT

I SIMPLE PAST PERFECT

1. Past Perfect for secondary past

1.0. In one of its uses the Past Perfect covers a distinct past period - the before past. The primary past (i.e. the period typically covered by the Preterit) should be understood as a space of time rather than a point of time, and primary past-time verb actions can precede or follow one another while still remaining within the primary past period. Thus, in "John was punished because he broke a window" the action represented by "broke" obviously took place before the action represented by "was punished," and yet they are both represented as belonging to the same past-time period.

1.02. It seems that, in a sequence of primary past-time actions, the temporally last member of the sequence is "the center of interest." If a member occurring earlier in the sequence is put into the Past Perfect, the center of interest is shifted to that member. In "John was punished because he broke the window" the center of interest is the fact that John received punishment, which primary information is expanded by an additional piece of information stating the reason for the punishment. If, on the other hand, it is for some reason or other desired to give prominence to the temporally earlier action, the action of breaking the window, this is achieved by putting the verb "to break" into the Past Perfect Tense : "John was punished because he had broken the window."

1.03. In "When he heard that, he turned pale" the stress is on the last member of the sequence - "he turned pale." The shifting of the center of interest may well result in "When he had heard that, he turned pale."

1.04. Of course, if an action clearly belongs to the before-past period (thus allowing of no center of interest shift), the Past Perfect is the only possible tense:

(1) When she reached her house she found that burglars had broken in and had taken the silver,

where what we have are two temporal sequences of actions, one sequence before the other, rather than one sequence of three actions. In this case, the center-of-interest consideration cannot be expressed, because the temporal relation between the two sequences is semantically, and formally, fixed and the Past Perfect for the secondary-past sequence is obligatory.

1.1. In main clauses

1.1.0. The Past Perfect appears in sentences set in a secondary past time context, in situations where in a non-past time context either the Present Perfect or the Preterit would be used:

(2) (context: I hardly know Bill) He has always been a loner ⟶
(context: I hardly knew Bill) He had always been a loner

(3) (context: The house is musty) I expected it ⟶
(context: The house was musty) I had expected it

Every Present Perfect becomes Past Perfect in a past-time context. The temporal Preterit is not so regularly shifted and often allows of a semantic choice of the type discussed in 1.02. and 1.03.

1.1.1. SC has a tense, Pluskvamperfekt, which can be used, in most cases, for the time relation conveyed by the E Past Perfect. The tense consists of three different but equivalent verb phrases: bijah/bjeh/bio sam (sa)čuvao. The Pluskvamperfekt is comparatively infrequent, at least in my idiolect, and it is usually substituted by the Perfekt, whose chief function it is to stand for the primary past-time period and for some uses of the E Present Perfect. In this way, the Perfekt is very frequently used for both primary and secondary past, and this is the reason why speakers of SC in most cases do not feel the necessity to distinguish between the past-time periods by means of a verb form.

1.1.2. The SC name for the Pluskvamperfekt is "davnoprošlo vrijeme" (time long lapsed), and this term occasionally tempts the SC speaker to say "That *had happened fifty years ago" because considerable time has lapsed since fifty years ago and, as in his idiolect the before past is not regularly signaled by a special verb form, he has only the label, "time long lapsed," to go by. On the other hand, the speaker may say "He said that that he *saw

her the day before" because the last meeting had taken place only a day earlier.

1.1.3. To indicate the secondary past, SC frequently employs the Perfekt modified by adverbials, mostly "već," "još," "ranije," and "nekad(a)" in past-time context:

(4) Nothing so thrilling had happened there for years
(4SC) Već se godinama ondje nije dogodilo ništa tako uzbudljivo

(5) I had not then acquired the technique that I have now
(5SC) Tada još nisam stekao tehniku koju imam sada

(6) It was funny I had never noticed it
(6SC) Čudno da to nikada ranije nisam primijetio

(7) He had been a butler in very good families
(7SC) Nekad je bio sluga u vrlo dobrim porodicama

In all these examples the Pluskvamperfekt is possible, the only exception being the last example because of the reluctance to use the verb "biti" as an auxiliary to itself: "Nekad je bio bio" or "Nekad bijaše bio."

1.1.4. Without the adverbials and past-time context, the Perfekt stands for primary past time:

(8) I did not then acquire the technique that I have now
(8SC) Tada nisam stekao tehniku koju sada imam

1.1.5. With adverbials of definite past time, such as "yesterday," "last year," etc., the Pluskvamperfekt is not likely, and the Perfekt in this enviroment is equal to the E Preterit:

(9) Jučer sam postao otac (*bio postao)
(9SC) Yesterday I became a father

1.2. In dependent clauses

1.2.1. The past time before which the action of the verb in the dependent clause takes place is signaled by the verb in the main clause: "I knew that he had arrived." In most clause types SC will use the Perfekt as the equivalent of the E Past Perfect: "Znao sam da je došao."

(10) He got up from the table where he had been cyphering
(10SC) Ustao je od stola gdje je šifrirao

1.2.2. In temporal sentences, the perfective Perfekt is ambiguous, as it can mean either the same time period as indicated by the verb of the main clause, or the secondary past:

(11) Kad sam stigao, on je otišao
(11E) When I arrived he left/had left

The ambiguity is solved if the before past is signaled by the Pluskvamperfekt (bio otišao), or by the introduction of one of the adverbials mentioned in 1.1.3. (već je otišao), or by a combination of the two (već je bio otišao).

1.2.3. The past-context perfective Perfekt in temporal clauses seems to be neutral as regards the primary or secondary past, it simply means "past"; adverbially modified past-context Perfekt refers to the secondary past, as does the Pluskvamperfekt; the imperfective Perfekt indicates the primary past:

(12) Kad sam došao, on je odlazio : When I arrived he was leaving

1.2.4. When the meaning of "kad(a)" is "during the time when," rather than "at the moment when," the imperfective Perfekt stands for the E simple Preterit:

(13) Kad je padala kiša, ostajao sam kod kuće
(13E) When it rained I stayed at home

1.2.5. Generally, the SC Perfekt in temporal clauses offers no simple clue to the tenses in E. The following sentences will illustrate this point:

SC Perfekt - Perfekt : E Preterit - Past Perfect:

(14) Kad sam stigao, on je (već) otišao
(14E) When I arrived he had left

SC Perfekt - Perfekt : E Past Perfect - Preterit:

(15) Kad je pročitao pismo, spalio ga je
(15E) When he had read the letter, he burned it

SC Perfekt - Perfekt : E Preterit - Preterit:

(16) Kad je padala kiša, ostajao sam kod kuće
(16E) When it rained (was raining) I remained at home

In all these sentences, the Pluskvamperfekt is possible; but the probability of the appearance of the Pluskvamperfekt varies. Thus, for instance, this tense is more likely in sentence (14) ("On je bio otišao") than in sentence (16) ("bio sam ostajao kod kuće").

1.2.6. The tenses that in SC object clauses can express the primary or the secondary past are the imperfective Prezent, the imperfective Perfekt (or, rarely, Imperfekt or Pluskvamperfekt), and the perfective Perfekt (or, rarely, the Aorist). Like this:

(17) 1. Znao sam da mnogo radite (imperfective Prezent):
I knew that you worked hard (or were working)

(18) 2. ?Znao sam da pročitate (perfective Prezent):
I knew that you had read

(19) 3. Znao sam da ste čitali (imperfective Perfekt), or čitaste (Imperfekt), or bili ste čitali (imperfective Pluskvamperfekt) : I knew that you had read

(20) 4. Znao sam da ste pročitali (perfective Perfekt), or pročitaste (Aorist), or bili ste pročit li (perfective Pluskvamperfekt) : I knew that you had read

Of these possiblities, those under 2, 3, and 4 are the equivalents of the E Past Perfect Tense. In practice, the most frequently used tense for the before-past period in object clauses is the Perfekt, either perfective or imperfective.

1.2.7. This fairly simple equivalence relationship is destroyed by the E back-shifted Continuative Present Perfect, whose most frequent SC equivalent is the imperfective Prezent, that is the same verb form that in objective clauses stands for the E Preterit ("He said that he was happy" : "Rekao je da je sretan"):

(21) He said that he had lived in Zagreb for five years
(21SC) Rekao je da živi u Zagrebu pet godina

1.2.8. In object clauses, SC keeps the distinction which is lost in the E backshifted Preterit and the backshifted Perfect:

(22) I lived in Zagreb for five years ⟶ He said that he had lived in Zagreb for five years : Rekao je da je živio u Zagrebu pet godina

(23) He has lived in Zagreb for five years ⟶ He said that he had lived in Zagreb for five years : Rekao je da živi u Zagrebu pet godina

1.2.9. With perfective verbs, only the before-past period can be expressed:

(24) Rekao je da je proveo u Zagrebu pet godina : He said that he had lived in Zagreb five years

1.2.10. Evidently, the SC Dependent Prezent of imperfective verbs, standing for the E backshifted Present (i.e. Preterit - Znao sam da čitate : I knew that you read/were reading), and for the E backshifted Continuative Present Perfect (i.e. Past Perfect - Znao sam da živi u Zagrebu pet godina : I knew

that he had lived in Zagreb five years), will be a serious source of interference so long as the SC equivalents of the E Present Perfect are not satisfactorily established and the mechanism of the E tense shifting grasped. (See M. Dubravčić, The Present Perfect Tense and Its Serbo-Croatian Equivalents.)

1.2.11. In clauses of cause, the SC Perfekt stands for either the Continuous Preterit or the Past Perfect:

(25) He stayed at home because it was raining
(25SC) Ostao je kod kuće jer je padala kiša

(26) He stayed at home because it had rained and the ground was wet
(26SC) Ostao je kod kuće jer je pa(da)la kiša i tlo je bilo mokro

In the last sentence, the Perfekt "je pa(da)la" can be substituted by the Pluskvamperfekt "je bila pa(da)la." The Pluskvamperfekt cannot be used for the Perfekt "je padala" in sentence (25SC), or for the Perfekt "je bilo" in (26SC).

1.2.12. From what has been said, we can conclude that SC very seldom explicitly recognizes the before past period by means of a verb form alone. It follows that the speaker of SC will have to totally learn the function of the E Past Perfect. Although there undoubtedly are certain signals in SC which point to the use of the Past Perfect in E, they are subject to so numerous limitations that it seems rather doubtful that they could be directly utilized in mastering the E Past Perfect.

2. Past Perfect for primary past

2.1. With a Present-tense verb form in the main clause

2.1.1. The Past Perfect of unreality is usual in dependent clauses having

the verb "to wish" in the main clause:

(27) I wish Henry had buried her properly

(27SC) Želio bih da ju je Henry sahranio kako treba (rather rare)

SC shifts the signal of unreality to the verb "željeti" ("to wish") which is put into the Kondicional; the E Past Perfect is rendered by its most frequent SC equivalent -- the Perfekt.

2.1.2. Another possible, and more frequent, equivalent is a dependent clause without the main clause and introduced by the connector da which, combined with the adverb "barem" ("only"), conveys the idea of unreality: "Da ju je barem Henry sahranio kako treba." As regards E, this SC construction is ambiguous as it translates also the E sentence type "If only Henry had buried her properly."

2.1.3. The Past Perfect in dependent clauses combined with a Present in the main clause is not restricted to the verb "to wish". This use of the Past Perfect occurs also after the connector groups "as if" and "as though":

(28) You talk as if you had been there

SC has no signal in the tense to indicate the non-realization of the past action. It uses the Perfekt for the E Past Perfect and the meaning of non-realization is supplied by the connector group "kao da": (28SC) Govoriš kao da si bio tamo.

2.2. I would have bought the house if I had had the money : Kupio bih kuću da sam imao novaca

SC Perfekt in the dependent clause correlated with a Kondicional in the main clause will translate the E Past Perfect in the dependent clause correlated with the Conditional in the main clause. Theoretically, SC could use the Kondicional II ("bio bih kupio"), but this form is rather infrequent.

2.2.1. In this way, SC conditional clauses of present unreality differ from conditional clauses of past unreality only in the occurrence of the Prezent in the former as against the Perfekt in the latter; the meaning of unreality being left to the connector "da" (which is used also for other meanings) and lexical probability:

(30) Da imam novaca, dao bih ti
(30E) If I had money I would give it to you

(31) Da sam imao novaca, dao bih ti
(31E) If I had had money I would have given it to you

2.3. With a Past-Perfect verb form in the main clause

2.3.1. The nonrealization of a past action after the verbs "to hope," "to expect," "to intend," and the like, is expressed by the Past Perfect forms of these verbs followed by the infinitives of the verbs whose actions were not realized:

(32) I had expected to overtake him, but he was nowhere to be seen
(33) It had been hoped to erect some kind of memorial to King Charles in Westminster Abbey but the Dean declined

SC will have the Perfekt for the Past Perfect and a da-clause with the predicator in the Future Tense for the infinitive:

(32SC) Nadao sam se da ću ga prestići, ali ...

2.3.2. The construction "I had expected to overtake him" occasionally blends with the construction "I expected to have overtaken him" into "I had expected to have overtaken him."

2.3.3. Followed by a Preterit form in the dependent clause, the verb "to hope" takes the Past Perfect form for the primary past to indicate that

the hope was not fulfilled:

(34) We had hoped that he would recover (but he did not)

(35) I had hoped that all painful subjects of converstaion were exhausted between us

SC uses the Perfekt: (34SC) Nadali smo se da će ozdraviti (ali nije). The meaning of unreality can be inferred only from the context.

3. Backshifted "have + past participle" for "will + have + past participle" after temporal connectors

(36) He says that as soon as he has raised (for "will have raised") the money he will let her have it→He said that as soon as he had raised the money he would let her have it

(36SC) Rekao je da će joj dati novac čim dodje/bude došao do njega

The SC perfective Prezent or the Future II (Exact Future) in temporal clauses dependent on a past-time verb form in the main clause will in most cases translate this E verb phrase.

II CONTINUOUS PAST PERFECT

4.1. This verb phrase is rather rare, accounting for only 7 per cent of the total number of instances of Past Perfect.

4.2. One of the uses of the Present Perfect is to represent a verb action as covering a time segment stretching between past and present, as in:

(37) This is a cue he has waited for

with the meaning of duration built in and with unmarked incompletion. Marked incompletion is signaled by the continuous phrase:

(38) I have been working the whole morning without achieving anything

4.2.1. There is no special form for marked completion, so that the form used for unmarked incompletion is also utilized for (unmarked) completion.

4.2.2. Basically, the semantic content of the Present Perfect consists of two elements - the past and the present in a certain mutual relation; the present element being the "time-of-the-context" element, i.e. the element belonging to the same time sphere as the context. Thus, the Present Perfect in "I have lived here two years" contains a past element ("I started living here two years ago") and a present, time-of-the-context, element ("I still live here at the moment of speaking").

4.2.3. When the Present Perfect is backshifted, the past element is changed to before past (past → before past), but the time-of-the-context element is not changed to past (present → past). This element disappears in backshifting. "I had lived here two years" contains only the before-past element ("I lived here before a past period"), while the past element ("I still lived here at a past, time-of-the-context, period") is not expressed, although it may be implied.

4.2.4. If the sentence "This is the cue he has waited for" is backshifted, the result is the sentence "This was a cue he had waited for," which can mean "he had waited for the cue twenty years before." The two semantic elements contained in the Present Perfect before backshifting can be restored if the continuous form of the Past Perfect is used: "This was the cue he had been waiting for."

4.3. There is a variety of this meaning where what connects before past with past is not the verb action itself but its perceivable results, a meaning which is parallel to the meaning of the continuous Present Perfect in

"You've been drinking" said upon seeing someone reeling and smelling liquor on his breath.

4.4. The Past Perfect Continuous is used also for backshifted Preterit Continuous. It stands for the Preterit Continuous indicating duration:

(39) She was sitting ... wearing ... exactly what she'd been wearing the previous evening

or for frame action in two-part sentences of the type "He was reading when I came in," as in:

(40) He'd been passing behind the Registrar's chair at the first Faculty meeting, had stumbled and had knocked the chair aside

4.4.1. There are several possibilities when a two-part clause containing a simple and a continuous preterit is the object of a clause containing a Preterit verb. If the sentence 'When I came in John was writing" is made the object of the clause "He said (that...)" its tenses can undergo the usual backshifting resulting in:

(41) He said that John had been writing when he had come in (rather unusual);

or there is no tense shifting:

(42) He said that John was writing when he came in;

or only the Continuous Preterit is backshifted:

(43) He said that John had been writing when he came in.

4.5. SC will most likely have the imperfective Perfekt in a past-time context as the equivalent of this E verb phrase.

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ADVERBIAL MODIFIERS IN INTRANSITIVE SENTENCES IN ENGLISH AND SERBO-CROATIAN

A. INTRODUCTION

1. This paper will deal with three classes of adverbial modifiers (AM) in the intransitive type of sentence[1] : adverb (Adv), prepositional phrase (PrP), and noun phrase (NP).

The three classes are used both in English and Serbo-Croatian to modify the intransitive verb (Vin) as illustrated in the following examples:

(1) Mary drives slowly.
(1SC) Marija vozi polako.

(2) She lives in this house.
(2SC) Ona živi u ovoj kući.

(3) They come every Friday.
(3SC) Oni dolaze svakog petka.

2. A few observations concerning some morphological features of the three classes of AM's can be made. Some English adverbs derived from adjectives may be a source of difficulty for SC learners. Here we have in mind a group of adverbs with alternate derivative forms, one with zero, the other with -ly, e.g. hard-hardly, wide-widely, fair-fairly. Since the largest group of E Adv's are formed from derived and base adjectives by the addition of -ly, the learner tends to disregard instances of Adv's formally identical with adjectives. Therefore, these should be presented in pairs pointing out that members of a pair may differ both in meaning and in the nature of modification. The following are illustrative:

he works hard : on radi marljivo/mnogo

he hardly works at all : on gotovo nikako ne radi
hardly anyone : jedva iko
hardly ever : jedva ikad
widely used : široko u upotrebi
widely different : veoma različit
wide open : širom otvoren

3. The adverbial use of these "pairéd adverbs" should be taught in connection with verbs they characteristically collocate with.

E.g. play fair : biti fer
play fairly : igrati fer igru

hold (on) tight : čvrsto se držati nečega/ za nešto
hold something/somebody tightly : čvrsto držati nešto/nekoga

judge wrongly : osuditi nepravedno
judge wrong : ocijeniti pogrešno

hold one´s head high : visoko držati glavu
think highly of somebody : visoko cijeniti nekoga

4. Another source of difficutly may be adjectives in -ly derived from nouns, such as brotherly, cowardly, friendly, which are, more often than not, wrongly associated with adverbs by the learner and consequently used adverbially: *He behaved brotherly /cowardly/ friendly, instead of He behaved in a brotherly /cowardly/ friendly way /manner/ fashion.

5. As for the case endings in (2SC) and (3SC), there should be no interference as soon as the learner becomes aware of the differences in case systems between the languages, that, for example E prepositions do not govern nouns in case as they do in Serbo-Croatian. However, the SC learner may be at a loss when looking for E counterparts of, say, nedeljom, satima, (putovati) avionom, (govoriti) tihim glasom, to mention just a few

instances. The instrumental is the most perplexing case because it expresses various semantic relations, e.g. time, manner, place, instrument. The cases most generally used for time expressions are the genitive and accusative. In teaching, lists should be made of NP's used adverbially, which are always in an oblique case, to show that there are instances of fairly systematic correspondences between the two languages. E.g.

jednog dana : one day
jednog hladnog dana : one (on a) cold day
idućeg dana : (on) the next day
januara mjeseca : in January
prve nedelje januara (mjeseca) : in the first week of January
prvih dana rata : in the first days of the war
tridesetih godina (ovoga vijeka): in the thirties (of this century)
in the nineteen-thirties
petog aprila : on the fifth of April
1970. (godine) : in 1970
nedelju dana, godinu dana (jednu godinu) : (for) a week/(for) a year
čitavu sedmicu : a/the whole week
pet sati (smo čekali) : (for) five hours
nedeljom : on Sunday(s)/ Sunday(s)
nedeljom uveče : (on) Sunday evening(s)
početkom marta : early in March
sredinom/polovinom marta : in mid-March
krajem marta : late in March
početkom sedmice : earlier/in the week/ this week
ulicom : along the street
ulicama, gradom, šumom (su lutali) : through the streets/town/ forest
satima, danima, godinama, stoljećima : for hours/days/years/
centuries (ages)

avionom, vozom, autobusom : by plane, by train, by bus

tihim glasom : in a low voice

podrugljivim tonom : in a mocking tone

sitnim koracima : with small steps

punom brzinom : at full speed

The above examples should be drilled in appropriate sentences as illustrations of corresponding patterns in the two languages.

B. POSITION OF AM'S

1. There are four possible positions in which an AM can occur in an English sentence with a Vin:

(i) post-verb

(ii) pre-verb

(iii) after the (first) auxiliary

(iv) pre-subject

2. The same positions appear to exist in SC. We shall use adverbs to illustrate this:

(4) They drive slowly.

(4SC) Oni voze polako.

(5) She always talks.

(5SC) Ona uvijek priča.

(6) The boy has already left.

(6SC) Dječak je već otišao.

(7) Sometimes they rise early.

(7SC) Ponekad oni ustaju rano.

3. The positions of SC adverbs in the examples above are only superficially similar to English. There seems to be no strict correspondence in this respect between the two languages, which is, generally speaking, due

to the fact that there is no fixed word order in SC. In particular, position (iii) is not relevant to SC in the sense it is in English. Let us take two variants of sentence (6SC):

(6SCa) Otišao je već dječak.
(6SCb) Već je dječak otišao.

From these variants we can see that the position of the perfect auxiliary, which is in SC always an enclitic in neutral positive statements and consequently always occurs immediately after the first word or the first constituent in the sentence, is not fixed in relation to the verb : in (6SCa) it is after the verb, in (6SCb) it appears before the verb with the subject in between. If we now compare the two variants, which may be different stylistically, we can say that the position of the adverb već is what we shall call medial rather than what is meant by E position (iii) in E sentence (6) (i.e. after the auxiliary and before the verb). Medial position can, therefore, be defined as the position of an AM either between auxiliary and verb, or between verb (+auxiliary) and the subject. We shall also include here the position between subject and verb, which corresponds to E position (ii), the pre-verb position.

4. Superficial similarity can be seen between sentences (4) and (4SC), position (i). If we compare sentence (4SC) with one of its variants Oni voze polako: Voze oni polako, we can see that the position of the adverb polako is in fact sentence final rather than post-verb.

5. Further, position (iv) is not relevant to SC either. It might be said that in a variant of sentence (7SC) : Rano oni ustaju ponekad, rano is put in pre-subject position for emphasis, but one finds the same emphasis in Rano ustaju oni ponekad, which means that in SC the relevant position is sentence

initial rather than pre-subject.

6. To sum up, the relevant positions of AM's in SC are: sentence initial, sentence final, and medial position. E.g.

Polako oni voze.] (sentence initial)
Polako voze oni.]

Oni voze polako.] (sentence final)
Voze oni polako.]

Oni polako voze.]
Oni su polako vozili.] (medial position)
Voze polako oni.]
Vozili su polako oni.]

a. Position of Adverbs

7. In English, the common position for almost all types of adverbs modifying a Vin is immediately after the verb, position (i), while the other three positions are not shared by all the adverbs. Some adverbs are confined to the post-verb or to the pre-verb position, some others can take all the four positions, some again can occupy two or three positions.

8. In SC there seem to be no limitations of this kind at all. The positioning of adverbs in SC is on the whole much more flexible than in English. For this reason positions of adverbs in English should be taught by means of lists. Most textbooks for SC learners deal with the placement of adverbs, but the general treatment is often inadequate and oversimplified so that students even in advanced stages of learning make mistakes in the usage of some highly frequent adverbs. Complete statements of usage are very difficult to make, because in some cases this would require a survey made for each individual adverb. However, we can present lists of some

groups of adverbs of high frequency.

9. The following are adverbs occurring in all the four positions. They belong to various semantic classes. Most common among them are adverbs of frequency and some time adverbs. E g. sometimes, occasionally, usually, frequently, often; soon, suddenly, presently, recently, formerly, once, instantly. The following sentences are illustrative:

(8) He goes there sometimes.
(8a) He sometimes goes there.
(8b) He has sometimes travelled by plane.
(8c) Sometimes he goes there.

(9) He went away soon.
(9a) He soon went away.
(9b) He will soon go away.
(9c) Soon he went away.

Here belong the negative adverbs seldom and rarely, which when used initially cause inverted order of subject and auxiliary. Never is another negative adverb that has similar syntactic features to these two, except that it never occurs postverbally.

(10) He went there rarely/*never.
(10a) He rarely/never went there.
(10b) He has rarely/never traveled by plane.
(10c) Rarely/never did he go there.

10. A small group of manner adverbs in -ly can also occur in all the four positions: slowly, quickly, rapidly, silently, eagerly, anxiously, instinctively, boldly.

(11) He walked away slowly.
(11a) He slowly walked away.

(11b) He was slowly walking away.

(11c) Slowly he walked away.

11. The following are the adverbs that are limited to the pre-verb position and/or after the (first) auxiliary: just, hardly, scarcely, nearly, almost. Since these are extremely frequent adverbs they should be given individual attention including various syntactic features other than order. E.g.:

(12) She just sat there.

(12) She has just come.

(13) Her lips hardly moved.

(14) She almost wept with despair.

(15) She can nearly swim now.

Hardly and scarcely can also be used initially, with inversion as in (10c).

12. The most limited in selecting a position are derivative adverbs such as: along, away, abroad, upstairs, downstairs, inside, outside, indoors, upwards, downwards. They invariably occupy the post-verb position. E.g.:

(16) They went abroad the other day.

(17) She looked upwards occasionally.

We shall include here a group of adverbs which, in combination with verbs of movement, form what we might call two-word verbs. They are contrastively interesting on semantic grounds. E.g.

come in : ući (unutra)
come up : doći gore/popeti se
come out : izaći (van)
come down : sići (dolje)/doći dolje
come back : vratiti se/ doći natrag

As shown above, the SC equivalents can be either prefixed derivatives or verb-adverb combinations. There should be no interference here as long

as these verbs are taught as single lexical items. However, as SC adverbs used with these verbs are not limited to one position only, the learner might be at a loss about the position of the adverb. Let us take the SC adverb gore in its three positions:

(18) Gore je pogledala dva puta. (sentence initial)
(18a) Dva puta je gore pogledala. (medial)
(18b) Pogledala je (gore) dva puta (gore). (sentence final)

In the E equivalent of these, the adverb up(wards) can take only one position:

(18E) She looked up(wards) twice.

13. There is a group of manner adverbs that are confined to post-verb position: Badly, fast, fine, straight, hard, well.

(19) They behaved badly.
(20) He talks fast.
(21) She sings fine.
(22) He shoots straight.
(23) He works hard.
(24) She paints well.

14. Lastly, the time adverbs today, tomorrow, tonight, and yesterday do not appear preverbally. Their usual position is postverbal or pre-subject. E.g.

(25) We are going to Mostar tomorrow.
(25a) Tomorrow we are going to Mostar.

15. It might be pertinent to point out some contrastively interesting correspondences between SC and E, concerning parts of the day and calendar units.

jutros : this morning
večeras : this evening
noćas : last night, tonight

sinoć : yesterday evening, last night

preksinoć : the night before last

prekjuče : the day before yesterday

preksutra : the day after tomorrow

onomadne, neki dan : the other day

ujutro : in the morning

juče ujutro : yesterday morning

sutra ujutro : tomorrow morning

popodne : in the afternoon

danas popodne : this afternoon

sutra popodne : tomorrow afternoon

juče popodne : yesterday afternoon

uveče : in the evening

sutra uveče : tomorrow evening

upodne : at noon

lani : last year

preklani : the year before last

dogodine : next year

ljetos, zimus, proljetos, jesenas : last summer/ winter/ spring/ fall autumn

zimi : in (the) winter (time)

ljeti : in (the) summer (time)

b. Position of PrP's and NP's

16. A PrP or NP modifying a Vin usually occupies the post-verb position in English. They can also appear in the pre-subject position when used for emphasis or contrast. The other two positions, pre-verb (ii) and after the (first) auxiliary (iii), are not commonly occupied by these two classes of AM's. PrP's may take position (iii) occasionally:

(26) They were at that time living in this house,

whilst NP's are never used in either of the two positions

(27) *They every day go to the cinema.

(27a) *They were every day going to the cinema.

17. In SC again there seem to be no restrictions in the positioning of these AM's. Examples:

(28) Dječaci odlaze u ponedeljak/iduće sedmice.

(28a) Dječaci u ponedeljak/iduće sedmice odlaze.

(28b) U ponedeljak/iduće sedmice dječaci odlaze.

(28c) Odlaze dječaci u ponedeljak/iduće sedmice.

The E equivalent of these can only be:

(28E) The boys leave/are leaving on Monday/next week.

The SC variants (28a, b, c) are clearly instances of stylistic variations. A variant of sentence (28E) with on Monday/next week in pre-subject position would require an expansion to show that contrast is intended. E.g.

(28Ea) On Monday/next week they leave and/but on Friday/ in two weeks'time they will be back.

In the following illustration we can see that the context justifies the placement of on Monday initially:

(29) A: Let's have a party on Monday.

B: Oh, no. We can't. On Monday they leave.

18. PrP's when used initially may cause Subject-Verb inversion. They are usually place AM's and the verbs they collocate with are those of movement or "state". E.g.

(30) On the curb stood the three men.[2]

(31) From the street came a quick swell of children's shouts which faded as they chased each other away.[3]

PrP's are placed at the beginning of the sentence for stylistic reasons (30), or because of the length of the Subject NP (31).

19. In some collocations E NP's seem to be unacceptable in the pre-subject position, whether or not we want to put emphasis on them, whereas in SC this

is possible. Examples:

(32) *Full speed they ran.
(32SC) Punom brzinom su trčali.

(33) *The whole length of the hall they rushed.
(33SC) Čitavom dužinom sale su projurili.

C. RELATIVE ORDER OF AM'S

a. Relative order of adverbs

1. While there is general agreement as to the position of one AM used to modify the Vin in English, there seems to be quite a range of opinions about the relative order of AM's when they appear in a cluster.

2. The question is usually discussed in terms of semantic classes of AM's, such as manner, place, time, frequency, direction, duration, etc. (M, P, T, F, Dir, Dur). The standard order of AM's in English textbooks for SC learners is M P T. (These three semantic classes are usually exemplified in textbooks). SC grammar books generally define the adverbials in terms of much the same semantic classes, but they do not discuss their position in the sentence or their relative order.

3. We shall take examples from three grammars of English to illustrate various opinions concerning the relative order of adverbs in English.

(34) Mary worked well here yesterday.[4] (M P T)
(35) Peter lived here happily then.[5] (P M T)
(36) I may go outside today easily.[6] (P T M)

Although they are not categorical about the relative order of adverbs, the authors whose examples are cited above use these examples to support their ideas of what they call "typical pattern", or "normal order", or the order used "generally". We will not go into the discussion of which of the above

orders is the most "typical", or the most "normal", but it seems to us that generalisations about the order of AM's should include a discussion of some factors pertinent to this problem, factors such as the degree of reversibility of order between some types of adverbs and the degree of relatedness of the verb and the adverb. Thus, place and manner AM's (as well as some frequency and place or manner AM's) are sometimes reversible, whereas time AM's are not as readily reversible with place or manner AM's.[7] E.g.

(37) He went outside quietly yesterday. (P M T)
(37a) He went quietly outside yesterday. (M P T)
(37b) He went outside yesterday quietly. (P T M)
(37c)*He went quietly yesterday outside. (*M T P)

In sentence (37a) P and M are reversed and in (37b) T and M. The reversal of P and T in (37c) appears to be impossible, because the adverb outside tends to be as close to the verb went as possible.

4. If we take another verb with a different semantic meaning, a verb of saying, we shall see that it attracts the manner adverb rather than place adverb, although the two are reversible. E.g.

(38) He spoke quietly here yesterday. (M P T)
(38a) He spoke here quietly yesterday. (P M T)

Both these variants are acceptable with sentence (38) being perhaps more preferable.

5. However, a verb like play does not attract either a manner or a place adverb. It seems to be neutral to these specifications, so that there seems to be no preference between the following variants:

(39) The children played quietly outside yesterday.
(39a) The children played outside quietly yesterday.

6. In none of the sentences in 4. and 5. does the time adverb seem to be capable of reversing so easily with either manner or place adverbs. Of the three Adv's the T Adv seems to be the least closely related to the verb. We might call it an "external" modifier as opposed to "internal" modifiers, i.e. manner and place AM's. Since with almost all verbs the time specification is always present, explicitly or implicitly,[8] the time AM can be considered as a frame for the "action", whereas manner and place AM's are modifiers of a different order, they give the verb a closer specifications, and that is why they tend to be closer to the verb

7. A distinction should be made between AM's answering the question "when" (time-point-reference) and those answering the question "how long" (duration). Dur AM's seem to be more closely related to certain verbs, such as stay, remain, stop, than time-point AM's. Unlike time-point AM's they seem to be easily reversed with place AM's. Examples:

(40) He did not stay long here yesterday.
(40a) He did not stay here long yesterday.
(40b) He stayed for a fortnight at my aunt's last year.
(40c) He stayed at my aunt's for a fortnight last year.

8. We may mention here verbs that must have an AM, usually a place AM, as an obligatory modifier. E.g.

(41) He lay down/ in bed.
(42) She stood by the window.

9. In SC the relative order of adverbs is not grammatically constrained. Generally, it only has a stylistic function. What is, however, contrastively interesting here is that, unlike English, where the cluster of adverbs always

appears in the post-verb position, in SC it may take all the three positions, sentence initial, final, and medial. E.g.

(43) Peter lives here happily now.
(43SC) Sretno sada ovdje Petar živi.
(43SCa) Petar živi sretno sada ovdje.
(43SCb) Petar sada ovdje sretno živi.

Which of these three positions of the cluster is the most "normal" is a matter of stylistic preference, although variant (43SC) may be considered emphatic in comparison with the other two quite neutral statements. As to the relative order of the three adverbs in any of the three positions, six variants are possible: sretno sada ovdje (M T P)
sretno ovdje sada (M P T)
sada ovdje sretno (T P M)
sada sretno ovdje (T M P)
ovdje sada sretno (P T M)
ovdje sretno sada (P M T)

b. Relative order of PrP's and NP's

10. The relative order of PrP's and NP's when used in a cluster roughly parallels the relative order of adverbs in English. Examples:

(44) She worked with great zest in the library that winter. (M P T)
(45) They were walking by my side with quick steps on a cold January evening. (P M T)

We see from these examples that a similar pattern obtains here as with the ordering of adverbs, i.e. a verb of movement, walk, is likely to demand the place AM next to it, while a verb of "doing", work, attracts the manner adverbial.

11. As to the reversibility between these AM's, it should be noted that with PrP's there might sometimes be some restrictions, because they can also function as noun modifiers, so that they may be attracted by the nominal part (NP) of the preceding PrP is the cluster. This may cause ambiguity between the two kinds of modification. E.g.

(46) He stood at the table on the opposite side of the professor.
(46SC) Stajao je/stao je pored stola ispred profesora.

To show that the two PrP's in (46) are unambiguously verb modifiers, we can employ features of intonation or punctuation, but as they stand it is not clear whether the second PrP modifies the table or stood. Similar ambiguity can be seen in (46SC).

12. Although no ambiguity will arise in sentence (45) if we interchange the place and manner AM's, the inverted order of the two will be better if the AM's are separated by commas.

(45a) They were walking with quick steps, by my side, on a cold January evening.

13. In the following examples the reversal of M and T AM's is illustrated:

(47) He went to the store on his bicycle in the afternoon. (Dir M T)
(47a) He went to the store in the afternoon on his bicycle. (Dir T M)

14. A Dur NP tends to appear immediately after the verb with some possibility of being reversed with the following place PrP. E.g.

(48) He paused an instant at the candy store on his way home. (Dur P T)

15. It might be argued that what we identified as a time AM in the above sentence is a place AM. In this connection, we can say that it is sometimes difficult to define the semantic meaning of PrP's. The following is a typical

example of ambiguity, which can only be determined by the context:

(49) She gazed that way for hours.

(49SC) Satima je zurila u tom pravcu.

or (49SCa) Tako je satima zurila.

16. We can mention some other factors that may influence the ordering of AM's. These are usually the length of the AM or stress pattern. Compare:

(50) She turned to me with a weary despair.

and (50a) She turned with despair to the man standing at the door.

17. In clusters with adverbs and PrP's it is the former that usually precede the latter. Compare:

(51) They walked quickly along the footpath.

and (51a) They walked along the footpath with quick steps.

(52) She waited here for half an hour.

and (52a) She waited for half an hour in his office.

(53) He went today to the Balearic Isles.

and (53a) *He went today there.

18. Two adverbials of time are ordered in such a way that the smaller time unit is usually placed first in English. E.g.

(54) They arrived at five o'clock on Sunday.

In SC the order is reversed:

(54SC) Stigli su u nedelju u pet sati.

19. In SC more than two PrP's and NP's from the three different semantic classes discussed above, (M P T), can occupy three sentence positions in much the same way as adverbs. We shall illustrate this with three variants corresponding to the E sentence (45):

(45SC) Oni su išli pored mene brzim koracima jedne hladne januarske večeri. (sentence final)

(45SCa) Jedne hladne januarske večeri brzim koracima pored mene su išli. (sentence initial)

(45SCb) Oni su jedne hladne januarske večeri brzim koracima pored mene išli. (medial position)

We will not discuss the stylistic aspects of these three positions of the cluster. Similar rearrangement of the three AM's can be performed as with adverbs, although perhaps with less flexibility.

D. MOVABILITY OF AM'S

1. Three or more AM's do not commonly occur in a cluster either in English or in SC, although they need not be artificial if so used. The pressure between the AM's makes it almost obligatory for some of them to move to some other position in the sentence. In SC they tend to be distributed over the whole sentence as can be seen from some further variants of (45SC):

(45SCc) Jedne hladne januarske večeri su pored mene išli brzim koracima.

(45SCd) Brzim koracima su pored mene (oni) jedne hladne januarske večeri išli.

2. In English it is the time AM that is usually moved to the pre-subject position. E. g.

(45a) On a cold January evening they were walking by my side with quick steps.

3. Duration AM's can also move to the pre-subject position E. g.

(55) She sat in the garden for an hour yesterday.

(55a) For an hour she sat in the garden yesterday.

The sequence Dur T is also possible in pre-subject position:

(55b) For an hour yesterday she sat in the garden.

Here are some more examples with PrP's and NP's in pre-subject position:

(56) All these years he had sniffed around the pillars of the subway feeling densely afraid and hopeful at the same time.[9]

(57) Without a word Fred came to the railing and. ...[10]

(58) Every day of the past week he had halted on this corner, dreading what might await him in the office, and ...[11]

(59) For a few minutes the three stood on the corner talking about rockets.[12]

4. To exemplify the movability of adverbs we shall use sentence (43): Peter lives here happily now. In this sentence the time Adv now can be moved to the pre-subject position without any change of meaning except perhaps a slight emphasis, while here in the pre-subject position would mean strong contrast.

The following sentence:

(60) She stays resolutely indoors sometimes.

can have the following variants with slight stylistic differences between them:

(60a) She sometimes stays resolutely indoors.[13]

(60b) She resolutely stays indoors sometimes.

(60c) Sometimes she stays resolutely indoors.

(60d) Sometimes she has resolutely stayed indoors.

(60e) She has sometimes stayed resolutely indoors.

5. In SC again there is much more flexibility in moving the adverbs from one position to another. To illustrate this we shall add some more variants of (43SCa), Petar živi sretno sada ovdje:

(43SCc) Sretno Petar živi sada ovdje.

(43SCd) Sretno ovdje Petar živi sada.

(43SCe) Sretno Petar ovdje sada živi.

(43SCf) Sretno Petar ovdje živi sada.

We can say that each one of the three adverbs can go to the sentence initial position, that any two of them can be placed either initially or medially

(between subject and verb), or that they can be distributed over the whole sentence.

a. Homonyms

6. We have seen that the change of the position of an AM is only of stylistic significance, and that sometimes it is necessary to move individual AM's from one position in the sentence to another in order to lessen the weight of too many of them put together. Now we are concerned with a group of E manner adverbs in -ly with which the choice of position is syntactically significant. The following adverbs belong to this group: naturally, strangely, fortunately, frankly, foolishly, wisely, happily, clearly, etc. All these adverbs can be used to modify a Vin, but they should be distinguished from their homonyms,[14] which appear in the function of sentence modifiers. Although these two functions are not distinguished solely by features of position, we shall give examples where the two functions are clearly determined by the position of the Adv. (This question should be given a separate treatment, so our analysis is not exhaustive).

Examples:

(61) He spoke naturally at the conference.

(62) Naturally he spoke at the conference.

(62a) He, naturally, spoke at the conference.

In sentence (61) naturally is a verb modifier meaning "in a natural way", and in sentences (62) and (62a) it is a sentence modifier meaning "of course" or "as might have been expected". In general, it may be said that verb modifiers occur immediately following the verb, whereas sentence modifiers are in most cases initial or preverbal in position, and that they are usually,

not necessarily, accompanied by features of intonation or punctuation.

7. The SC equivalents of sentence (61) may be as follows:

(61SC) On je prirodno govorio na konferenciji.

(61SCa) Prirodno je govorio na konferenciji.

(61SCb) Govorio je prirodno na konferenciji.

(61SCc) Na konferenciji je govorio prirodno.

As can be seen from these variants, in SC there are no restrictions on the positioning of prirodno in its meaning of "na prirodan način". However, prirodno in the meaning of "dabome", "svakako", "naravno", or "razumije se da" is not so free in selecting position, e.g.

(62SC) Prirodno, (on je) govorio (je) na konferenciji.

(62aSC) On je, prirodno, govorio na konferenciji.

Prirodno in (62aSC) is distinguished from its homonym in (61SC) by intonation and punctuation.

8. It seems to us that there are very few homonyms of this kind in SC. Čudno is another example of SC homonyms:

(63) Juče se je čudno ponašao.

(63E) He behaved strangely yesterday.

(64) Čudno, juče se je dobro ponašao.

(64E) Strangely, he behaved well yesterday.

In surface structure čudno and strangely are distinguished from their homonyms by features of position, intonation and punctuation. In terms of deep structure their relationship to the rest of the sentence can be shown by paraphrases:

(64a) Čudno je da se je juče dobro ponašao.

(64Ea) It is strange that he behaved well yesterday.

9. In the following illustrations we shall exemplify some SC expressions, other than adverbs, corresponding to E homonyms of manner adverbs. E.g.

(65) The year ended fortunately.
(65SC) Godina se sretno završila.

(66) Fortunately, he came at once.
(66SC) Srećom, odmah je došao.
(66SCa) Sreća je da/što je odmah došao.

(67) She spoke frankly.
(67SC) Govorila je otvoreno.

(68) Frankly (speaking), he should not go there.
(68SC) Otvoreno govoreći, ne bi trebalo da ide tamo.

(69) He acted wisely.
(69SC) Pametno je postupio.

(70) He, wisely, did not reply.
(70SC) Pametno je što nije odgovorio.

It is very likely that a SC learner may not be aware of the two uses of the E homonyms discussed here if they are not pointed out to him. A list of these usages should be made for practical purposes of teaching.

NOTES

1. By intransitive verbs are meant all those verbs that occur without an object or with which the object is deletable.

2. and 3. Sentences are taken from Arthur Miller's novel Focus, London, 1949, 46, 26.

4. Eckersley, C.E. and Eckersley, J.M. A comprehensive English Grammar for Foreign Students, London, 1966, 266.

5. Paul Roberts, English Syntax, New York, 1964, 91.

6. Barbara M.H. Strang, Modern English Structure, London, 1968, 185.

7. In his book A Synopsis of English Syntax, The Hague, 1966, 117, Eugene A. Nida says: "In postverb position the relative order tends to be "manner", "place", and "time", but the relative order of "manner" and "place" is reversed more than that of "manner" or "place" in relation to "time"."

8. David Crystal, "Specification and English Tenses", Journal of Linguistics, London, 1966, Vol. 2, No. 1.

9, 10, 11, and 12. Sentences from Focus, ibid. 57, 51, 12, 48.

13. Example borrowed from Barbara M.H. Strang, ibid. 185.

14. Sidney Greenbaum (Studies in English Adverbial Usage, London, 1969) uses this term to distinguish what he calls manner adjuncts from their homonymous disjuncts.

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